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a Church gathered at woburne in presents of mr Francis Norwell magistrat & mr willson mr Sims mr Allen mr Dunster mr Knowlls mr Cartor and diuers other godly and faithfull ministers of Christ who held out the wright hand of followship in the name of other Churches to the persons gathered Namly John mousall Edward Johnson Edward Connars william lornet Ezekill Richison Samuwell Richison and Thomas Richison

mr Cartor ordained the 22 of 9 mo

mr Thomas Cartor ordained pastor of the Church of Christ at Woburne in presents of the foresaid persons mr Knowlls Elder who held out the wright hand of fellowship to him

1650 the 25 of 12 mo

Choyce of Towne officers the 25 of 12 mo 1650

Selectmen Edward Johnson, Edward Connars, John mousall, John wright

James Tompson, Samuwell Richison, Ralph Hill

Constables John Russell

Surueiors John knight, Jacob Lorner

Commissioners to End small Causes

Edward Johnson, Edward Connars

Deputy Edward Johnson

Select James Tompson

Wonder-Working Providence

OF SIONS SAVIOUR

IN NEW ENGLAND

BY CAPTAIN EDWARD JOHNSON

OF WOBURN, MASSACHUSETTS BAY

LONDON, 1654

WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND AN INDEX

BY WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE

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PUBLISHED BY WARREN F. DRAPER

1867

Wonder-Working Providence

OF

SIONS SAVIOUR IN NEW-ENGLAND.

1654.

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TO THE MEMORY

OF

GEORGE LIVERMORE,

OF CAMBRIDGE.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour in New-England* is a quaint and authentic narrative of events connected with the settlement of Massachusetts Bay. The author, in his homely way, has sketched a vivid picture of the spirit and temper of the settlers, the trials they underwent, the faith and patience they exhibited, their struggles with the Indians, and the religious disputations they had among themselves. He has given personal sketches of prominent men of the colony; details respecting the planting of towns, and the gathering of churches; statistics of immigration, of population, of the growth of settlements, of the products of agriculture, and of the prices of commodities, that are not furnished by any contemporary writer. We could have consoled ourselves at the loss of his poetry, if he had supplied its place with more of these interesting details.

The work was sent to England soon after its completion; and, without the author's revision, or the superintendence of any person acquainted with New-England localities or history, was

printed in London, in 1654. As might be expected, the work abounds in errors of the press. Proper names and Arabic numerals are lamentably misprinted. The original manuscript is lost, or, it may be, is slumbering unrecognized in some European collection. It is by no means improbable, that, like the missing *Letter-book* of Gov. Bradford, it may yet come to light. Until the original manuscript is found, a revised edition of the *Wonder-working Providence* is not practicable, nor indeed desirable. The errors of the press, in some instances extremely perplexing, are mainly such as require no explanation, and suggest few difficulties to the well-read student of New-England history.

The original impression has become exceedingly rare.[1] To meet the wants of the subscribers for this limited edition, a class of readers who desire to possess the original sources of New-England history, the following plan has been adopted: —

First, To reprint the original edition of 1654, page for page, line for line, retaining all the errors of construction, punctuation, and orthography, so that the reader may feel as if he had the original text before him.

Second, To prepare a minute Index of the work; correcting, as far as is deemed judicious, the misprints of the text; making the orthography of proper names conform to general usage; and not hesitating to change dates and figures, when necessary.

Third, To prepare an Introduction, embodying such facts and suggestions respecting the work and its author, as a careful examination of the subject may furnish.

By this arrangement, the opinions and corrections of the editor are kept distinct from the text of the author, and can be con-

[1] The work, in detached portions, has been reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vols, xii., xiii., xiv., xvii., and xviii., under the supervision of Mr. James Savage, "with *most* of its errors and, in some instances, a certain or conjectural correction in the margin." See Mr. Savage's note in Winthrop, i. 84.

sulted or discarded at the reader's option. To correct the obvious errors of the text would be no favor to the student of history; to correct the less palpable errors would deprive the work of all its authority; and to give the text a fair English dress would involve the absurdity of re-writing the entire narrative.

It will be observed that no author's name appears on the titlepage; and the Preface, with the initials "T. H.," instead of giving the information sought, only deepens the mystery which surrounds this curious volume. Who T. H. was, is unknown. He does not profess to be the author. The style of composition in the Preface is so unlike that of the work, that they could not have been written by the same person. A first impression might be, that the manuscript was sent to England by Mr. Thomas Hooker, (a character the author is never weary of extolling), with that brief, commendatory introduction. This, however, could not have been the case; for Hooker removed from Cambridge to Connecticut in 1636, and died in 1647, at which period, it will be seen, the book was not written. T. H. might have been a friend in England to whom the manuscript was sent for publication; but more likely he was some person whom the publisher procured to write the Preface.

No one, I think, who carefully examines the book, will hesitate in deciding that the title "A History of New England," &c., was an invention of the publisher, or of some person employed by him. The modest author would never have made such a pretentious titlepage. He did not purpose to write a History of New England. He has not a word to say of the origin and progress of the Plymouth Colony, and the Rhode-Island Plantations, or of the abortive attempts of Popham and Gorges to settle the Province of Maine; and he alludes only in the most casual manner to the Connecticut Colony. His intention was merely to

describe the scenes and events which took place under his own observation, and which illustrated the goodness of God in the settlement of these colonies; or, as he expressed it in the running title, and was constantly repeating it in the text,[1] the *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England.* If he gave the book any title, it was undoubtedly this.

On page 110, we find "The Authors end in naming ſome few "[of the deputies to the General Court] is for none other end "but to make good *the title of this Book*, & to incourage all the "ſervants of *Chriſt* for time to come wholely to rely upon him, "when they go about any difficult work, which may tend to the "glory of his Name. Who could have told theſe men, being "ſcattered abroad throughout the Iſland of Great *Brittaine*, they "ſhould meete on a Wilderneſſe nine hundered Leagues remote, "and there keep Court together to ſtudy the preſervation of "*Chriſts* poore ſcattered flockes?"

The *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour* is evidently what he alluded to above as "the title of this Book." By this name it has always been quoted, and will ever be known. I have therefore, without hesitation, discarded, in my preliminary title, what I consider to have been the invention of "Mr. Nath: Brooke, at the Angel in Cornhill," and have restored the author's title.[2]

Five years later, we find the same publisher issuing the remainder of the sheets of *Wonder-working Providence*, left on his hands, with an entirely different titlepage and preface, in both

[1] See Wonder-working Providence, pp. 32, 65, 108, 106,* 128, 162, 166, 170, 217, 227, where the expression is used.

[2] Of the two quotations from the Psalms of David upon the titlepage, the first reference, "Psal. 107. 24," is a misprint for Psal. 107. 42, and may have been copied from Coverdale's, the Bishop's, the Genevan, or King James's version; for the verſe is the same in all. The second quotation, "Psal. 111. 2." is from neither of these, nor yet from Wiclif's version. It is a compound of the phraseology in the Genevan and King James's. From the early prejudice of the Puritans against King James's version, we should expect to find that these verses were from the Genevan, the version which the author usually quoted.

of which Sir Ferdinando Gorges is declared to be the author. A more monstrous attempt at deception than this was never perpetrated in early or modern times. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was never in America. He was a High-churchman, a sturdy adherent of the Stuart dynasty, a persecutor of the Puritans, and a life-long enemy of the Massachusetts Colony. That such a man should have written *Wonder-working Providence* is a greater wonder than any thing recorded in the book. New-England history, nevertheless, abounds in references to the book as the production of Gorges. So judicious a writer as Dr. John Eliot, in his "Biographical Dictionary of New England," quotes, in his life of Gorges, this forged title as a genuine work of Sir Ferdinando, and concludes thus: "This is a curious and scarce book. "Hutchinson and Belknap have made great use of it."[1] This incident, however, is but one of the historical infelicities in which the Gorges family are involved in connection with *Wonder-working Providence*, which will be fully discussed, when, in another place, I come to speak of the "Gorges Tracts."

Who was the author of *Wonder-working Providence?* I am inclined to believe, that Brooke, the publisher, did not know the name of the author; and this circumstance favored, if it did not suggest, the liberties taken with it. If the original manuscript had a titlepage and preface, and these had been preserved, they would probably have thrown no light on the question of authorship. It will be seen hereafter, that the author intended to suppress his name.

For more than two hundred years, tradition has assigned the authorship of *Wonder-working Providence* to CAPTAIN EDWARD JOHNSON, of Woburn, Massachusetts Bay, who came over with Winthrop in 1630; returned soon after to England, and came over

[1] Graham (History of the United States. i. 232) quotes from the book as being Gorges's, and states that there is a copy in the Redcross-street Library of London.

again with his family in 1636; resided in Charlestown till 1642, when he engaged in the settlement of the town of Woburn, and took so prominent a part in the enterprise that he is justly termed the "Father of the Town." Here he abode until his death, in 1672, devoting himself exclusively to public duties, both in the town that he had founded, and in the General Court of the Colony, of which, for nearly thirty years, he was an influential and most useful member.

This tradition has rested chiefly on the following statement of Mr. Thomas Prince, contained in the Preface of his "Chronology of New England," 1736, p. 1:—

"When I went to *England* [in 1709]. I met with a great Variety of Books "and Pamphlets, too many here to name, relating to this Country, wrote in "ancient Times, and which I could not meet with on this Side the *Atlantick*. "Among others, a *History of* NEW ENGLAND *from* 1628 *to* 1651, Printed in "Quarto *London* 1654. I found many Particulars, of the Beginning of our "several Churches, Towns and Colonies, which appear in no other writer. "The *running Title* of the Book is *Wonder-working Providence*, &c.: and "in the genuine Title-Page, no Author is named. Some of the Books were "faced with a false Title-Page; wherein the Work is wrongly assigned to Sir *F.* "*Gorges*: But the true Author was Mr. *Johnson* of *Woburn* in *New England*, "as the late Judge *Sewall* assur'd me, as of a Thing familliarly known among "the Fathers of the *Massachusetts Colony*."

A statement so explicit as this, made by the father of New-England history, is entitled to the greatest respect, and, in the absence of conflicting testimony, might be deemed conclusive. As Mr. Prince received this information from Judge Sewall in August, 1728, the Judge doubtless meant by the "Fathers of "the Massachusetts Colony" those whom he knew in his early life, and subsequent to the death of Captain Johnson. I have found no evidence that Captain Johnson ever acknowledged himself the author of the book; that he complained of its being ascribed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges; or that his name was in

any way connected with it during his lifetime. He lived eighteen years after its publication, and during the whole period was in the public service, and in intimate relations with the leading men of the colony. It is probable, therefore, that he intended the authorship should remain a secret; and, sharing it only with his favorite son Major William Johnson, they kept the secret well.

At the session of the General Court held 15th May, 1672, the first meeting after the death of Captain Johnson, it was ordered,

"That Major Willjam Hathorne & Major Eliazer Lusher make dilligent "inquiry in the several parts of this jurisdiction concerning any thing of mo- "ment that haue past, and in particcular of what hath binn collected by Mr "John Winthrop, Sen. Mr Tho. Dudley, Mr John Wilson, Sen. Capt. Edw. "Johnson, or any other, that so, matter being prepared, some meete person "may be appointed by this Court to put the same into forme, that so, after "perusall of the same, it may be put to presse." (Mass. Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2. 515.)

This Order must have been suggested by the death of Captain Johnson (which occurred twenty-two days before), and with a knowledge that he had collected historical materials. The three other persons mentioned had died previously,—Winthrop in 1649, Dudley in 1653, and Wilson in 1667. It cannot be inferred from the Order, that it was then known that Johnson had written *Wonder-working Providence.* The four persons were mentioned as collectors, and not as authors. Winthrop's Journal, and Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, had not been printed. What Wilson had collected or written is not known. Johnson (p. 112*) speaks of him as one "who had treasured up heaps "of experimental goodnesse of God towards his people," which was Johnson's mode of saying that he had collected materials for a history, or *Wonder-working Providence.* Wilson's

collections have never been printed, and are doubtless lost. The Order, however, is worthy of notice, as it was the first action of the General Court to collect and preserve the early annals of the colony; and it resulted, a few years later, in Mr. William Hubbard's "General History of New England to 1680." Hubbard made free use of *Wonder-working Providence;* but in no instance did he quote it by its title, or mention the name of its author.[1]

Further historical evidence that Captain Edward Johnson was the author of the book may be thus stated: —

First, The copy of *Wonder-working Providence* in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, has a manuscript note, in the well-known handwriting of Mr. Thomas Prince, giving more in detail the fact already quoted from the Preface of his "Chronological History," which is as follows: —

"Judg Sewall tells me, this Book was known to have been written by "Captain Johnson of Woburn, Father to the Honble Wm Johnson "Esqr of Woburn, w^o^ was chosen assistant in 1684 at ye same time wth Judg "Sewall Himself, and as it was commonly known y^t^ Capt. Johnson was ye "author of this Book: so ye judg was intimately acquainted wth his son ye "assistant, & had conferred wth Him about it.

"This ye Judg tells me this ♀ aug. 23, 1728."

Mr. Prince's name is not attached, nor are his initials; but there is no mistaking his chirography. The blank space before

[1] Hubbard made use of the work in this manner. On p. 113 he says: —

"Concerning Mr [Francis] Bright there "is at this time little known, and therefore "the less to be said, although one who "affected him never the better for his Con-"formity, gives this character of him; that "he began to hew stones in the mountains "wherewith to build; but when he saw all "sorts of stones would not suit in the build-"ing, as he supposed, he, not unlike Jonah, "fled from the presence of the Lord. . . . "The like character is as freely given by the "same author, bestowed on another clergy-"man, called Mr [William] Blackstone, who "on the like occasion, as he saith, betook "himself to till the ground, . . . retaining "no symbol of his former profession but a "canonical coat." The writer alluded to is the author of *Wonder-working Providence*, and the quotations are from p. 20.

"Johnson" is in the original, and shows that Prince did not know his Christian name. It may be worthy of notice, as a corroboration of the genuineness of the date, that Aug. 23, 1728, old style, was *Friday*, as Prince indicates by the character ♀.

Second, From the prominence the writer gives to the military affairs of the colony, we might infer that he was a military man; and, among the details he was so fond of recording, expect to find his name. But his intention not to divulge it has already been alluded to. We are able, however, to identify him by the very means he takes to screen himself from sight. On p. 192 he gives a list of the officers of the several military companies of the colony. He says, "The band of Concord led by Capt. "Simon Willard, being a Kentish souldier, as is Capt. Goggin, ". . . the band of Woburn led by another Kentish Captain." It appears from the Colonial Records, that the commander of the militia company of Woburn was Captain Edward Johnson; and from his Will, on record at East Cambridge, that Captain Johnson came from the county of Kent, England. Why should the writer suppress this name and give the others in full? This was the author's mode of dealing with himself, throughout the book. Another instance is on p. 186. He says, "The Govern-"ment of the Mattachusets sent two messengers on purpose to per-"swade them [Gorton and his followers] to come and have their "cause heard." Three messengers were sent; the third was Edward Johnson (Col. Rec. ii. 44). In the Sketch I shall give of Captain Johnson's life, it will be seen that many of the events recorded in the book were those in which he acted a prominent part, and in which no allusion is made to himself.

Third, Increase Mather, who was a contemporary of Johnson, knew that he was the author of *Wonder-working Providence*. Dr. Mather probably learned the fact, as Judge Sewall did, after the death of Captain Johnson, from his son, Major William John-

son. In his "Relation of the Troubles in New England by reason of the Indians, from 1614 to 1675," printed at Boston in 1677, Dr. Mather, reciting (in Preface, p. iv.) the authorities he had consulted, says, "as alſo what Mr Johnson, or Mr Morton "(out of Mr. Bradfords manuscript) hath heretofore noted." As he omits the Christian name of Johnson, this might not be deemed conclusive; but on p. 56 he says, "Some (viz. Mr. Gor- "ges and Mr. Johnſon) have related that Miantonimo was ſet on "by certain vagabond Engliſh known by the name of Gor- "tonians." There is now no doubt as to the Mr. Johnson whom he quotes, or as to the edition of *Wonder-working Providence* which he used. He quoted, not from the original edition of 1654, but from the edition of 1659, prefaced by the spurious title-page invented by Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, in which the authorship is attributed to his grandfather, Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Yet Dr. Mather was not deceived. He saw through the imposition, and correctly ascribes the work to Mr. Johnson. The volume which Dr. Mather possessed was "America Painted to the Life," or the collection commonly called the "Gorges Tracts," to be described at length in another place.

In order, however, to appreciate the evidence now under consideration, it is necessary to anticipate that description so far as to state that the "Gorges Tracts" consist apparently of four separate treatises, with different titles and dates, as follows: —

1. "America Painted to the Life. A True History," &c.: a tract of fifty-one pages, being an account of New England, by Ferdinando Gorges, the younger. Date 1659.

2. "A Brieſe Narration," of fifty-seven pages, relating to the attempts of Gorges to settle the Province of Maine, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Date 1658.

3. *Wonder-working Providence* entire, with a forged titlepage and preface. Date 1658.

4. "The History of the Spaniards Proceedings in America," of fifty-two pages, by Ferdinando Gorges, the younger. Date 1659.

The passage from "Mr. Gorges," containing the expression "vagabond English," is found on p. 38 of the first tract; and also on p. 183 of the third tract. I quote in parallel columns both extracts; but invert the order given by Dr. Mather, for the reason that *Wonder-working Providence* was published five years before the Gorges tract appeared.

Wonder-working Providence.
1654. p. 183.

"This confederacy being finished, "there came in certain Indian Sa-"chims, and submitted to the English "Government, as *Pomham*, and *Soc-"cananocoh* to the *Mattachusets;* "also *Miantonemo* and *Uncas;* but "between these two latter Princes "arose a very hot quarrel, the Eng-"lish seeking by all means to quench "it, but could not, it being, as is sup-"posed, fomented by a small company "of *vacabond English*, who were then "for their crimes banished from their "own complices at Rhode Island, the "Ringleader of them being one *Sam-"uel Gorton*, by whose mean they "were drawn into damnable errors: "These *Gortonists*, as is said, lent "*Miantonemo* a Corslet for safe-"guard of his own person."

America Painted to the Life.
1659. pp. 37–38.

"This confederacy being ended, "there came in certain *Indian* Sa-"chems, and submitted to the *English* "Government, as *Pomham*, *Soccan-"anocoh*, *Miantonemo*, and *Uncas*, "but between these Princes arose a "very hot quarrell, which the *Eng-"lish* fought all meanes to quench, but "could not, it being fomented, as is "suppos'd by some *vagabond Eng-"lish*, who for their crimes were ban-"isht from their complices at *Rode* "Island, the Ringleader being one "*Samuel Gorton* the broacher of "those heresies before mention'd, "these *Gortonists*, as is said lent "*Miantonemo* a corselet for safe-"guard of his Person."

Dr. Mather found the statement he quoted in both tracts, and did not perceive that the Gorges tract was a rank plagiarism of *Wonder-working Providence*. That Dr. Mather had a copy of

the "Gorges Tracts," is evident from the fact that the first tract was never published in any other form. The statement of Rich, of Allibone, and other bibliographers (who have copied Rich), that these tracts were published separately, is, I think, erroneous. They have doubtless in modern times been separated and bound singly; but I shall hereafter show that the collection was a unit in design; and shall furnish evidence to indicate what that design was. I will here only remark, that every fact relating to New-England History that Ferdinando Gorges, in his first tract, did not take from his grandfather's "Briefe Narration," he pilfered from *Wonder-working Providence.* He gave in his Preface an elaborate list of French and Spanish authorities, which he did not use, but made no allusion to the work from which he obtained the chief part of his material. Having appropriated portions of the work for his first tract, he stole it bodily for his third tract.

Dr. Mather places "Mr. Gorges" before "Mr. Johnson," because Mr. Gorges's tract preceded Mr. Johnson's in the volume he used. If any further evidence is needed to identify the edition of *Wonder-working Providence* that Mather had, it is found in the statement (in Preface, p. iv.), "I have also perused Sr. *Ferdinando* "*Gorges Narration* of original Undertakings here," which was never printed except in the "Gorges Tracts," 1659, until it was reproduced in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. xxvi., 1837.

Dr. Mather probably found the book in England, and brought it with him when he returned to Massachusetts, in 1661. Copies of both editions were exceedingly scarce in the colony, at even a later date. Mr. Prince, who commenced his search for books relating to the history of New England in 1703, never saw a copy of either edition till he went to England in 1709. From the manner in which he speaks of finding the work there, it is probable he never heard of it till then.

Fourth, Without the testimony of Prince or Mather, the work has ample internal evidence to prove that Capt. Edward Johnson, of Woburn, was its author. From the minute details he gives of the settlement of Woburn, the gathering of the Church, the ordination of Mr. Thomas Carter, the Church Covenant, &c., it is evident that the writer was an interested actor in these events. The early Town Records of Woburn, in Edward Johnson's handwriting (fac-simile specimens of which will be found facing the titlepage of this volume), show that he was the pioneer in the settlement of the town, and the leading actor in the events he describes; that he was the first Town Clerk, the first Chairman of the Selectmen, and the first Deputy to the General Court. The book also minutely describes those wonder-working providences, in which we know, from other sources, he took part; and it also omits, or erroneously states, other incidents which took place during his absence from the colony, from 1631 to 1636. These facts will be developed in the Sketch of his life.

When was *Wonder-working Providence* written?

As we open the book, the first impression is that we have before us a journal, written from time to time, as the dates in the heading indicate; and the phraseology in many places favors this impression. A brief examination, however, assures us that this was not the case. In the introductory portion of the narrative, before he speaks of the arrival of Winthrop and his company, he alludes to facts that occurred at a much later date.

Describing the trials of the sea-voyage (p. 36), he states that children were born on the passage, "among other Sea-borne Cot-"ten, now a young student in the Colledge in Cambridge, being "Son to that Famous and Renowned Teacher of *Christ* M. John "Cotten." Seaborn Cotton did not enter Harvard College till 1647, and he graduated in 1651.

Under the date of 1637 (p. 111), he says, "Wherefore it will

"not be amiſſe if our Countrymen [meaning Engliſhmen] be "acquainted with the one and twenty yeares experience of this "Wilderneſſe worke, in point of Government." If he intended to date from the arrival of Governor Winthrop in 1630, the date of the period at which he was writing would be 1651. But, if he intended to date from the arrival of Governor Endicott at Salem in 1628, he wrote this passage in 1649. I am inclined to think that he had in mind the settlement at Salem; for (on p. 31) he gives the number of voyages made, and the number of passengers transported to New England "for fifteene years ſpace to the year "1643," which must be from 1628. On p. 22, under the date of 1630, speaking of the Salem church, he says, "And now let "every Eare liſten, and every heart admire, and inlarge it ſelf to "the aſtoniſhment of the whole man at the wonderous worke of "the Great Jehovah: That in thrice ſeven years . . . this poore "Church of Chriſt conſiſting at their beginning but of ſeven per-"ſons, increaſed to forty three Churches." We thus arrive again at the date 1649.

In his verses on Governor Winthrop, under the date of 1631 (p. 48), he concludes with two stanzas which imply that Winthrop was then dead. Winthrop died March 26, 1649.

Under the date of 1647 (p. 208), he says, "our Maritan Towns "began to encreaſe roundly, eſpecially Boſton, the which of a "poor country village, in twice [misprint for *thrice*] ſeven years "is become like unto a ſmall City, and is in election to be Mayor "Town ſuddainly." This refers to a petition, presented to the General Court, in the name and behalf of the town of Boston, that it might be made a corporation. The following action was taken upon the petition, June 21, 1650: "It is agreed vppon by the "Court that theire deſires ſhould be graunted, if the articles or "tearmes, priuiledges & imunities thereof were ſo preſented as "rationally ſhould appeare, reſpectinge the meane condition of the

"country, fit for the Courte to graunte, provided they present "theire propositions at the next sessions of this Courte to be con-"sidered off." (Col. Rec. iii. 207.)

Captain Johnson, at this time, was a Deputy to the General Court; and, the proposition meeting with a favorable reception, he naturally supposed that the act of incorporation would be consummated at the next Court of Election, in May, 1651. The citizens of Boston probably demurred at the project of giving up their privilege of discussing and determining in open town-meeting all matters of local interest. The proposed draft of a charter seems not to have been presented at the Court of Election; and, for the next one hundred and seventy years, Boston escaped being a "Mayor Town." The incident, however, fixes the date at which this portion of the work was written, as between June, 1650, and May, 1651. It shows, also, that the dates at the head of the pages must be received with great caution.[1]

My conclusion, after having examined the evidence on this point with some care, is, that Captain Johnson commenced writing the book about the year 1649; that he had it on his hands till 1651, adding to, and altering from time to time, what he had already prepared. I have found no incident that seemed to extend his labor upon it to a later date. The result is a great confusion in the order of dates and events.

His account of the town of Charlestown (pp. 39–41) is an

[1] The following are a few of the many other instances of confusion in dates which I have observed: —

On p. 212 (1648) Johnson records the gathering of the second church in Boston. The church was not gathered till June 5, 1650.

On p. 124 (1637) he records the loss of Captain Lamberton's ship, which occurred early in 1646.

On p. 37 (1630) and p. 198 (1645) he speaks of *Major-General* Edward Gibbons, who was not appointed major-general till May, 1649.

On p. 106* (1636) he says, "It was your "[the bishops'] Pithagorian Phylosophy "that caused the King to loose his life, by "persuading him his Kingly power lived "in your Lordly dignity." Charles I. was beheaded January 30, 1648–9.

instance of this disorder. "And now [1631] the new-come "Souldiers of Chrift ftrengthen themfelves in him, and gather a "Church at *Charles*-Towne." He gives a description of the town:—

"It hath a large Market-place neer the water fide built round with Houfes, "comly and faire, forth of which there iffues two ftreetes orderly built with "fome very faire Houfes, beautified with pleafant Gardens and Orchards, the "whole Towne confifts in its extent of about 150. dwelling Houfes. Their "meeting houfe for Sabbath affembly ftands in the Market-place, very comly "built and large, the Officers of this Church are at this day one Paftor, and one "Teacher, one Ruling Elder, and three Deacons, the number of Souls are "about 160. . . . Their Corne Land in Tillage in this Towne is about 1200. "Acres, their great Cattell are about 400. head, Sheepe neare upon 400. as for "their horfe you fhall hear of them, God willing, when we come to fpeak of "their Military Difcipline." [1]

[1] In 1631 there were not, probably, in the entire colony one hundred "great cattle" (goats being termed "small cattle"). The price of cattle from 1630 to 1640 was very high, that of cows ranging from twenty to twenty-five pounds, "it being the common "practife," says Johnson (p. 172), "of thofe "who had any ftore of Cattel, to fell every "year a Cow or two, which cloath'd their "backs, fil'd their bellies with more varieties "then the Country of itfelf afforded, and "put gold and filver in their purfes befides." In the spring of 1642, when immigration was checked in consequence of the development of Puritan power in England, the price, says Johnson, "fell of a fuddain in one "week from 22 *l.* the Cow, to 6, 7, or 8 *l.* the "Cow at moft, in fo much that it made all "men admire how it came to pafs."

Of sheep there were probably not half fo many in the colony in 1631 as Johnson gives to Charlestown alone. On page 84 he says, "As for thofe who laid out their Eftate "upon Sheepe, they fpeed worft of any at "the beginning (although fome have fped "the beft of any now) for untill the Land "be often fed with other Cattell, Sheepe can-"not live; And therefore they never thrived "till thefe latter dayes: Horfe had then not "better fucceffe, which made many an hon-"eft Gentleman travell a foot for a long "time, and fome have even perifhed with "extreame heate in their travells."

Prince (p. 392, ed. 1826) says there were "no horses in New England in those "days" (1632). Horses were then indeed very scarce; but the statement, if taken literally, is an error. Higginson, writing to his friends at Leicester, September, 1629, says, "We have [at Salem] fix or feven "mares and a horfe, and do every day ex-"pect the coming of half a fcore mares "more" (Young, Chronicles of Mass., p. 261). Johnson (p. 31) speaks of throwing overboard many of their horses, implying that some were not thrown over, and probably arrived in safety. The horse [company] our author promises to speak of under the head of Military Discipline, was the "very "gallant horse troop" he subsequently men-

Josselyn, in both voyages to New-England, 1638 and 1663, visited Charlestown. In the narrative of his second voyage, he gives a description of the town. Instead of collecting any original statistics, he copies Johnson's literally, thus (p. 164): "There "belongs to this town one thousand and two hundred Acres of "arable, four hundred head of Cattle, and as many Sheep;" showing that he did not consider them inapplicable to a date twelve years subsequent to the completion of Johnson's book.[1]

tioned on p. 193; and as it was the only one in the colony, and quite celebrated in its day, he did not think it necessary to state that it belonged to Charlestown. Several of Captain Johnson's sons lived in Charlestown, and were probably members of this "gallant troop." It appears from an order relating to the division of lands, passed by the town in 1657, that the "troopers" had previously been "exempted for their heads "[poll taxes] in poynt of cuntry rates" (Frothingham's Hist. of Charlestown, p. 151). This mounted company was probably formed about the year 1649, as Johnson speaks of it as "of late listed."

That twelve hundred acres of corn-land should have been under tillage in the town of Charlestown indicates a date, when the concluding portion of the description was written, as late as 1650. In the spring of 1633, it appears (p. 56) that "the Win-"ters Frost being extracted forth the Earth, "they fall to tearing up the Roots and "Bushes with their Howes; even such men "as scarce ever set hand to labour before, "men of good birth and breeding. . . . "The chiefest Corne they planted before they "had Plowes was *Indian* Graine, whose in-"crease is very much beyond all other." Again, on p. 120: "And whereas at their "first comming it was a rare matter for a "man to have foure or five Acres of Corne, "now many have four or five score. . . . "for it was with sore labour that on[e] man "could Plant and tend foure Acres of *In-"dians* Graine, and now with two Oxen hee "can Plant and tend 30. . . . Insomuch "that Marchandizing being stopped at pres-"ent, they begin [to] question what to do "with their Corne."

Wood (New-Englands Prospect, 1634), in the rose-colored statement he gives of the prosperity of the Massachusetts Colony, probably over-estimated the number of domestic animals at that date. He says (p. 54), "Can they be very poore, when for foure "thousand soules, there are fifteen hundred "head of Cattle, besides foure thousand "Goates, and Swine innumerable?"

[1] The use which Josselyn made of *Wonder-working Providence* in writing up the narrative of his second voyage, I have never seen noticed. I have made a careful collation of Josselyn's account of the Massachusetts Colony, and find that he took about four-fifths of it directly from Johnson; generally abridging, but in many cases giving Johnson's precise phraseology. He has even copied the obvious misprints of Johnson's text. Josselyn gives rather extensive boundaries to the town of Cambridge, for a writer who has visited the locality twice. He says (p. 165), "It stretcheth from Charles-"River to the Southern part of Merrimach-"River." This he took from Johnson (p. 61), who says, "The Liberties of this town

It appears as if Johnson, just before completing the work in 1651, added, to the description he had prepared of Charlestown, those new and very interesting particulars as to its condition at

"have been inlarged of late in length, reach-"ing from the moſt Northerly part of "*Charles* River, to the moſt Southerly part "of *Merrimeck* River." "*Merrimeck*" is an obvious misprint for "*Myſtic*." Again, Josselyn says (p. 170), "Over againſt "*Haverhill* lyeth the Town of *Malden*." These towns are nearly thirty miles apart, the former being on the *Merrimack* River, and the latter on the *Myſtic* River. The misprint already noticed may have led Josselyn into this error; but it is more probable that he took it from the heading of Chapter vii. p. 210, where Haverhill and Malden are brought together. Haverhill is there a misprint, or an author's error, for *Andover*. The chapter has nothing to say about *Haverhill;* that town having been described on pp. 196, 197.

Josselyn (p. 169) says of Hampton, "This Town is like a *Flower-deluce*, having "two ſtreets of houſes wheeling off from "the main body thereof, they have great "ſtore of Salt Marſhes and Cattle, the land "is fertil, but full of Swamps and Rocks." From Josselyn's well-known taste for natural history, it would readily be inferred that his *Flower-deluce* comparison was his own invention. It is, however, a literal copy from Johnson (p. 134). Thus, "The "form of this Towne, it is like a Flower-de-"luce, two ſtreets of houſes wheeling off "from the maine body thereof, the land is "fertile, but filled with ſwamps, and ſome "ſtore of rocks." "The great ſtore of Salt "marſh and Cattle," Johnson introduced a few lines earlier.

A similar use of Johnson is apparent in his description of nearly every one of the Massachusetts towns.

In compiling his "Chronological Obſervations of America," Josselyn made similar use of *Wonder-working Providence*. About nine-tenths of his items relating to the Massachusetts Colony, from 1628 to 1651, are taken from Johnson. For his purpose, a date at the head of the page covered every transaction found beneath it. Hence he fell into many errors. For instance, he gives 1651 as the date of the return to England of Hugh Peters and Mr. Wells [Thomas Welde]; whereas they returned ten years earlier. He found the fact mentioned in Johnson, on p. 224. The date at the head of the page (for which the printer, and not the author, was doubtless responsible) is 1651. But Johnson, in his text, states the fact correctly, thus: they "ſteered their courſe for "England, ſo ſoon as they heard of the chain-"ing up of thoſe biting beaſts, who went "under the name of ſpiritual Lords," alluding to the early action of the Long Parliament, which met in November, 1640, the impeachment of Archbishop Laud and of the Earl of Straſford, the abolishment of the Star Chamber, the High Commission, and the Council of York.

These facts do not necessarily cast discredit upon Josselyn. He must obtain his chronology from some source, and there was no other work extant that had so many and such authentic facts relating to the Massachusetts colony as *Wonder-working Providence*. In his description of towns, however, it seems very strange, with the ample opportunities he possessed of collecting new material, that he should have been so barren in originality, and have copied so literally from Johnson.

that time. If we could see the original manuscript, we should probably find some interlineation, division, or explanation that the printer has not preserved. What has been stated of Charlestown applies equally to his descriptions of Dorchester, Roxbury, Cambridge, Watertown, Hingham, Lynn, Ipswich, Newbury, Concord, Hampton, and Sudbury.

What was Captain Johnson's motive in writing *Wonder-working Providence*, and the circumstances of its publication?

The book was evidently no waif which accident had thrown in the way of a publisher, who printed it without the writer's consent. It was written for a definite object, and for immediate publication. The motive was certainly not pride of authorship, nor a desire for literary reputation; for he withheld from it his name, and suppressed every allusion to his own connection with the events he described. It was written for the information of "our Countrymen." By this expression, which the author often uses, he means not his fellow-colonists, (these he terms "New-England people," p. 217,) but his countrymen in Old England.[1]

"There are two sorts of persons in our Native Country . . . namely the "godly Presbyterian party, and the Congregationall sincere servants of *Christ*, "both which the Author could wish . . . would seriously ponder this Hist"tory. . . . Of the first sort named, I could wish the Reverend Mr *Ruterford*, "Mr *Bayle*, Mr *Rathbone*, Mr *Paget*, Mr *Ball*, &c, would but informe them"selves further by the truth of this History" (p. 104). "But to our beloved "brethren in *England*, on the other hand, the Reverend Mr *Burroughs*, Mr "*Goodwin* &c, this seemeth you have apprehended our Churches and civil Gov"ernment to be too strict in dealing with persons for their sinfull opinions." (p. 105.)[2]

[1] Speaking of John Norton, he says (p. 73), "The learned labours of this Souldier "of Christ are obvious to our Countreymen, "hee Preaching there," — that is, in Yarmouth, England, as described on pp. 64, 65. On page 120*, he says, "Many pamphlets "have come from our Countreymen of "late."

[2] Samuel Rutherford was an eminent Scotch Presbyterian divine, and wrote vari-

Again, he says, "Foure ſorts of perſons I could with a good "will have paid their paſſage out, and home again to *England*, "that they might have been preſent at this Synod [1637], ſo that "they would have reported the truth of all the paſſages thereof "to their own Colledges at their return" (p. 118*). These expressions, and many similar ones, oft repeated, — "beloved "countreymen" (p. 217), "our Engliſh Nation" (p. 22), "our "Parkes in England" (p. 56), — indicate the affectionate regard which the author, as well as the colonists at large, entertained for the mother country.

In these days of Alabamas and Shenandoahs, we can hardly appreciate the sensitiveness of the early settlers to public opinion in England. Many of them had there been persecuted for their religion, and some had been driven to these shores; still, England was their mother, and they loved her with filial devotion. Their trials they charged upon a false religious system and bad rulers: England herself could do no wrong. The original settlers at Massachusetts Bay were not, like the Plymouth colonists, fugi-

ous works on Church Government. He was silenced in 1636, and died in 1661.

Robert Baillie, a Presbyterian divine, was born at Glasgow, 1599, and died 1662. He wrote against Episcopacy and the Independents. His collected works, edited by David Laing, were published in Edinburgh, 1841–43. 3 vols., 8°.

William Rathband, a Presbyterian, wrote "A Confutation of the Errors of the Sect called Brownists or Separatists." London: 1644. 4°.

John Paget, a Presbyterian, wrote various works, from 1618 to 1641. One of these is "A Defence of Church Government exerciſed in Preſbyterial, Claſſical, and Synodical Aſſemblies." 1641. 4°.

John Ball, a Puritan divine, was born in 1585, and died in 1640. His writings were numerous: among them, "A Tryall of the New-church Way in New-England and in Old." 1644. 4°.

Jeremiah Burroughs, an eminent Puritan divine, was born in 1599, and died in 1646. He was silenced, and he fled to Holland, but returned after the Puritans came into power. Darling gives a list of eighteen of his publications.

Thomas Goodwin was an Independent Calvinist divine. He lived from 1600 to 1679. In 1634, he was pastor of an Independent Church in Holland. He returned to England, was made President of Magdalen College in 1649, and was ejected at the Restoration. His works, in five folio volumes, were published in 1681. The work Johnson saw was probably "An Anatomy of Independency." 1644. 4°.

tives from persecution. They came voluntarily, an organized company, and with a royal charter, to enjoy a larger freedom in their religious belief than was possible for them in England. Many of them were in nominal communion with the Church of England. When the "Arbella" was lying in the harbor of Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, ready to sail, Governor Winthrop and several of his companions issued an address to "the reſt of their brethren in and of the Church of England," in which they said, "We eſteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from "which we riſe, our dear Mother; and we cannot part from our "native country where ſhe ſpecially reſideth, without much ſad-"neſs of heart, and many tears in our eyes."

Francis Higginson expressed the emotions of a "right New-"England man," when, in May, 1629, he called up his family and other passengers of the ship, as the shores of England were fading from their sight, and said: —

"We will not ſay Farewell Babylon, Farewell Rome! but we will ſay, "Farewell dear England — Farewell the Church of God in England, and all "the Chriſtian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatiſts "from the Church of England, though we cannot but ſeparate from the corrup-"tions in it; but we go to practice the poſitive part of the Church reformation, "and to propagate the Goſpel in America." [1]

William Hooke, "Miniſter of God's Word in Taunton," in a Sermon entitled "New Englands Teares for Old Englands Feares," preached July 23, 1640, gives a touching tribute of the feeling in the Plymouth colony towards England. "There is no nation that "calls us Countreymen but the Engliſh. Brethren! Did wee not "there draw in our firſt breath? Did not the Sunne firſt ſhine "there upon our heads? Did not that Land firſt beare us, even "that pleaſant Iſland, but for ſin, I would ſay, that Garden of the "Lord, that Paradiſe?" (p. 16.)

[1] Mather's Magnalia, B. iii. p. 74. Sprague's Annals, i. p. 8.

A number of disaffected persons had returned to England, some voluntarily and others by banishment, who were zealous in circulating reports adverse to the reputation and interests of the colony. Among these were such busy and malignant characters as Thomas Morton, Sir Christopher Gardiner, and David Ratcliff, who, with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, had conspired to defame the colonists, and deprive them of their Charter. The summary proceedings in the case of Samuel Gorton; the Antinomian controversy, and other religious disputes in the colony, had been used to engender a feeling of distrust among its genuine friends in England. The material prosperity of the colony was checked, after the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640, by the falling-off of immigration,[1] the derangement of prices, and the high cost of labor.[2]

While there was much misrepresentation and adverse criticism in England of events that had taken place in the Massachusetts Colony, very little was known of its history and actual condition. White's "Planters Plea," 1630, 88 pp.; Higginson's "New Englands Plantations," 1630, 25 pp.; and Wood's "New Englands Prospect," 1634, 112 pp., were important tracts, but they hardly touched upon the facts which Johnson purposed to describe. These, with Lechford's "Plain Dealing,"[3] 1642, 80 pp.; "Good News from New-England,"[4] 1648, 24 pp., and a few

[1] For one hundred and sixty years, dating from 1640, more persons left New England than came to it. See Hutchinson, i. preface vii., and Palfrey's N. E. i. preface vii.

[2] The high cost of labor caused many an enterprise to be abandoned. Johnson says, "An iron work was begun in Brain-"tree, and profited the owners little, but "rather wasted their stock, which caused "some of them to sell away the remainder, "the chief reason being the high price of "labour, which ordinarily was as much "more as in England, and in many things "treble" (p. 207).

[3] A reprint of this valuable tract, with copious notes by Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, is in press.

[4] Reprinted in Mass. Hist. Soc.'s Collections, xxxi. 195-218. I have not seen the original. Mr. John Carter Brown has the only copy I have heard of in this country. Mr. Rich never saw "Good News," 1648, or he would not have asked, "Is this a reprint "of Edward Winslow's book, 1624?"

others,[1] comprised all the printed information respecting the colony accessible to English readers.

The reputation and material interests of the colony obviously required that a full and connected account of the rise, progress, and condition of the Massachusetts plantations should be prepared for the British public. This the modest Town Clerk of Woburn took upon himself (with much hesitation and misgiving we can readily believe) to perform. His lack of literary culture was in a degree compensated by his intimate acquaintance with colonial affairs; and his position as Deputy to the General Court gave him access to the records of the colony.

Captain Johnson's style of writing requires a passing notice. It is evident, that, like a mother's partiality for her sickly child, he thought more of his poetry than of his prose. He imagined that his verses would live when his prosaic narrative was forgotten. "For remembrance of him [Isaac Johnson]," he says (p. 38), "mind this Meeter." Not a worthy could he fitly dispose of without immortalizing him "in rude verse."

Poetry embodies the highest conceptions of human thought; and yet there is a presumption against any person who prints

[1] Unfavorable reports of the colony had been published by Thomas Morton, in "The "New English Canaan," Amsterdam, 1637, 188 pp.; and by Samuel Gorton, in "Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed "Policy," London, 1646, 111 pp. Mr. Thomas Welde's "Short Story of the Rise, "reign, and ruin of the Antinomians," London, 1644, 86 pp., had given the details of that strange controversy, and of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson's rough treatment. Mr. John Cotton's "Keyes of the kingdom of Heaven," London, 1644, 69 pp.; his "Way of the "Churches of Christ in New-England," London, 1645, 125 pp., and several other publications of his, had exhibited the radical departure of the Massachusetts churches from the English system of church government. "New-Englands First Fruits," 1645, 26 pp.; "The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-"Rising of the Gospel," 1647, 25 pp.; and "The Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel," 1648, were missionary tracts, showing the progress of the gospel among the Indians. These, with Mr. Nathaniel Warde's "Simple Cobler of Aggawam," 1647, 80 pp., are nearly a complete list of works relating to the Massachusetts Colony which had then been printed.

verses, which can be removed only by positive evidence establishing one of two facts, — either that the verses are good, or that the party committing the offense is in other respects a worthy and sensible person. Johnson's poetry is not good. It is shocking beyond description. It is of the kind which neither gods nor men can abide. It is my good fortune, however, to be able to show, in vindication of our author, that he was a person both worthy and sensible. His motive was good, if his verses were not. Let us, therefore, cordially accede to his request (giving the apologistic clause a literal meaning, which he, of course, did not attach to it) "that no one be offended at the Authors rude Verſe, penned "of purpoſe to keepe in memory the Names of ſuch worthies "as Chriſt made ſtrong for himſelfe, in this unwonted worke of "his" (p. 19).

To inquire how Johnson came by his style of versification raises a question that is curious rather than essential. It might be supposed, from their rudeness, that his poetical effusions in *Wonder-working Providence* were his first attempts in that form of composition. But such was not the fact. It was a vicious practice he had indulged in for nine years, at least, before he wrote this work. Fortunately, but one early specimen has come down to us. The first entry he made in the Woburn Records — under the date of 1640, but written, probably, two years later — was in verse; and its style is, if possible, worse than any thing that appears in *Wonder-working Providence.*

Mr. Samuel F. Haven, the accomplished Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, suggests to me, that he thinks Johnson must have read Barnabe Googe, and formed his style after that model. Having carefully examined the writings of Googe, I must confess that the resemblance does not impress me as it did the critical mind of that learned antiquary. Googe wrote nearly a hundred years before Johnson, and the resem-

blance between them seems to me no greater than between other religious verse-writers of that period. On the point of literary merit, no comparison can be instituted. The following is an extract from "The Popiſh Kingdom by Thomas Naogeorgus, "englyſhed by Barnabe Googe," 1570, 4°, p. 59: —

"We here are called Heritykes, and worthie thought to bee,
"Of halter, ſworde, conſuming fire, and ech extremitee.
"We puniſht are, our houſes ſealde, or from our countrie farre
"We baniſht be, or elſe oppreſt at home with ciuill warre:
"Whereas the dreadfull Souldiour doth consume, and cleane deuours,
"The goodes that here hath gotten bene, by toyle and paine of ours.
"Theſe things theſe Catholickes attempt, when in ſo many yeares,
"By scriptures ſure they cannot plant, this fooliſh fayth of theirs."

The idea of interspersing verses with his narrative was suggested, I think, by his reading "Good News from New England," 1648.[1] That Johnson read "Good News" is evident from several quotations which he makes from that brief tract.

1. Johnson (p. 168) says, "Mr. Henry Dunſter is now Preſi-"dent of this [Harvard] Colledg, fitted from the Lord for the "work, and by thoſe that have ſkill that way, reported to be an "*able Proficient* in both Hebrew, Greek, and Latine languages." Having no "ſkill that way," for he had no knowledge of those languages, Johnson modestly bases his statement on one who had. The author of "Good News," (whose name to this day is unknown,) makes frequent use of Latin phrases, and (p. 216 of reprint) says, "the Preſident being an *able Proficient* in the Tongues. . . . The Preſident is Mr Dunſter."

[1] It was no unusual practice with writers of that day. Wood, in his "New Englands Proſpect," introduced verses: but I find no evidence that Johnson had read Wood; and no allusion to, nor quotation from, any other tract on New-England.

2. On p. 58, Johnson quotes the complimentary epithets he applies to Thomas Hooker, "the grave, godly and judicious," from "Good News," p. 217.[1] Johnson probably had no personal acquaintance with Thomas Hooker, who came to New-England in 1633, and removed to Connecticut in June, 1636, during the whole of which period Johnson was not in New-England. It was proper, therefore, that he should quote the words of one who seemed to know him.

3. "Good News," p. 217, having alluded to Mr. Hooker's death, which occurred July 7, 1647, mentions "Mr Philips, Mr "Huet and Mr Harver, yet remaining in the united Colonies, of "name and note."[2] Johnson eulogizes these four names in verse, (p. 222) in the same order, and with the same spelling of John Harvard's name.

4. Johnson quotes an error from "Good News." He notices, (p. 128) under the date of 1637, the arrival of "Mr. William "Tompson, Mr. Edm. Browne, and Mr. *David Frisk*," — a misprint for David Fisk. The person alluded to was Mr. John Fisk, of Wenham, whose arrival, with Mr. John Allin, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Browne, is mentioned on page 117 *, but the name is again misprinted *Fish*. Johnson copied the mistake as to his Christian name from "Good News," p. 212, where, in a list of the ministers of the several churches in the colony, and the salaries they each received, the writer gives the name of the minister of Wenham as "Mr. David Fisk," with a salary of twenty

[1] The expression "the judicious Hooker," which properly belonged to Richard Hooker, the celebrated English divine, who died in the year 1600, seemed to descend to Thomas, who was no relative of his. I do not claim that the use of the word "judicious" would identify the quotation; but that the other two epithets, and the order of the three, do identify it.

[2] It is singular that the three persons named as "yet remaining," after Mr. Hooker's decease, had died several years before: Mr. Geo. Phillips, July 1, 1644; Mr. Ephraim Hewitt, Sept. 4, 1644; Mr. Harvard, Sept. 14, 1638. Could the author have been a New-England man?

pounds.[1] Johnson, when he describes the town of Wenham, (p. 189) gives the name *John Fisk* correctly.[2]

Mr. Savage, describing "Good News" (Mass. Hist. Col. xxviii. 288), remarks, "It is much in the style of Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*." Another eminent New-England scholar, in a letter to me, says, "The similarity of style between the two "works seems to me quite remarkable; so much so, that I once "thought Johnson might have written both."

"Good News" was printed and seems to have fallen into the hands of Johnson, about the time he commenced writing his book; and, having had a *penchant* for composing verses, and observing the success with which its author interwove poetry with his narrative, conceived the plan of making his own doggerel perform for him the same good service. This idea, and a few quotations such as have been mentioned, are all, so far as I can ascertain, that he borrowed from "Good News." From this point the dissimilarities are noticeable. The author of the latter

[1] The salary of the minister of Wenham is the smallest on the list. But Mr. Fisk was not dependent on his salary for support. He had married a lady of fortune, and he came to New England with implements for farming and building, and with provisions enough for his support for three years. Johnson alludes to his farming operations on p. 189. "He at first settled down as a "planter among them, yet withal he be-"came helpful in preaching the Word unto "them."

The list, contained in "Good News," of the salaries paid to the several ministers during the first twenty years of the Massachusetts colony is interesting.

Mr. John Cotton, of Boston, and Mr. Zach. Simms, of Charlestown, stand at the head of the list, each receiving £90. Mr. Knowles, of Watertown; Mr. Welde, of Roxbury; and Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, of Rowley, — had each £80. Mr. Richard Mather, of Dorchester; Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, and Mr. Norton, of Ipswich; Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge; and Mr. Buckley, of Concord, — had each £70. Mr. Norris, of Salem; Mr. Allen, of Charlestown; Mr. Wilson, of Boston; Mr. Peter Hubbard, of Hingham; Mr. Noyes, of Newbury; and Mr. Thomas Carter, of Woburn, — had each £60. The other ministers had smaller sums; the least, with the exception of Mr. Fisk, being that of Mr. Green, of Reading, who had £30.

[2] Josselyn, in his "Chronological Observations," quotes this error from Johnson, and makes an additional error of one year in the date. He says, "This year [1638] came "over Mr Wm. Thompson, Mr Edmund "Browne, Mr David Frisk."

writes like a person of some culture and learning; Johnson writes like a carpenter, as he claimed to be, when, on leaving England the second time, he gave his occupation to the "Commiſſioners "for regulating Emigration to the Plantations." Some of the verses in "Good News" are ingenious. The author thus works up the names of the New-England towns:—

"To raiſing Townes and Churches new, in Wilderneſs they wander,
"Firſt *Plymouth*, and then *Salem* next, were placed far aſunder.
"*Charles* river where they nextly land, a Towne like name they built,
"Poore Cottages then populate, with winters wet ſoone ſpilt.
"Brave *Boſton* ſuch beginning had, *Dorcheſter* ſo began,
"*Roxbury* roſe as mean as they, *Cambridge* forth from them ran.
"*Lin* likewiſe built, when *Watertowne* firſt houſes up did reare,
"Then large-limb'd *Ipſwich* brought to eye 'mongſt woods and waters cleer.
"*Hartford*, *New-haven*, *Scituate*, *Sandwich* and *Dover* all,
"In wilderneſſe 'mongſt people wilde, there Scituations fall."

In a similar manner he introduces the names of twenty-four other settlements. In natural history the writer was a keen observer. In Spring,—

"The Codfiſh, Holybut, and Baſſe, do ſport the rivers in,
"And Allewiſes with their crowding ſholes, in every creek do ſwim,
"Leaving their ſpawn in ponds to thrive 'mongſt Pikes devouring jawes,
"That ſwallow Trowts, Tench, Roach and Breme into their greedy mawes.
"Pirch, Shad, and Eeles, there plenty fill the panyard and the pan,
"Smelts, Lobſters, Crab-fiſh, pranes and ſhrimps, with cockles, muſſels, clams.
"Plenty of oyſters overgrow the flowed lands ſo thick,
"That thouſands loads of lime are turn'd, to lay faſt ſtone and brick."

Sommer.

"Beſpread with Roſes Sommer 'gins take place with haſty ſpeed,
"Whoſe parching heate Strawberries coole doth moderation breed.
"Ayre darkening ſholes of pigeons picke their berries ſweet and good,
"The lovely cherries birds entice to feaſt themſelves in woods.

"The Turkies, Partridge, Heath-hens and their young ones tracing paſſe
"The woods and medowes, Achorns eat, and hoppers in the graſſe.
"Like *Virgils* knat muſketo flies with buzzy humming dare
"Aſſault the ſtouteſt with long trunke, both blood and bliſters reare."

His description of a New-England Winter, so unlike the mild and humid season of the British Isles, is excellent: —

"Sharpe, ſudden, yet with lightſome looks doth winters cold come in,
"With thicke, large Coat doth cloath the earth, both ſoft, smooth, white and trim.
"The large tempeſtuous ſurges are bound in with frozen band,
"Where ſhip did anker, men doe walke, and carts as on the land.
"The Geeſe flye prating night and day, to tell the approaching ſeaſon,
"Brought downe by gun ſhot from their flight unto the Indians geſon.
"The tripping Deer with length of leaps, do burſt through frozen ſnow,
"Hunters purſue with bracket ſhooes, at length they weary grow.
"Then down the dogs them ſudden draw, expoſ'd to hunters pleaſure,
"Their fleſh well welcome, and their ſkins, are chiefe of Indian treaſure."

When I assert that Captain Johnson neither did nor could write such verses as these, I am conscious of not conforming to the practice of some editors who consider it their duty to claim for their authors every species of talent and pre-eminence. I have no ambition to be reckoned among this class of panegyrists, being quite content to state facts, even if they are homely. Captain Johnson's merits do not lie in the direction of literary composition. It is sufficient to claim that he wrote the most important book on the Massachusetts Colony that was printed during the first hundred years after the settlement, that he was a man of action rather than of letters, and took a leading part in the events he described. In a Sketch of his Life, — following a description of "The Gorges Tracts," — I hope to make it appear that his

name is entitled to a larger space in the annals of New-England than it has hitherto occupied.[1]

The Gorges Tracts.

THE fraudulent use made of *Wonder-working Providence*, in the collection known as the "Gorges Tracts," 1659, has already been alluded to, and demands a more careful examination.

Of the four hundred and forty pages which comprise that volume, two hundred and forty are the original sheets of Johnson's book. Two changes only were made in the work, to enable it to perform the part assigned to it in that strange compilation. The original titlepage and preface were suppressed, and others were substituted. On the former, the authorship was attributed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight; and in the latter an attempt was made to give plausibility to this monstrous imposition. Three of the four tracts have the general title, "America "Painted to the Life," and the first and third titles are nearly the same.

The collection has been a puzzle to bibliographers. Mr. Obadiah Rich, to whom we are so much indebted for his bibliography, and notes on early American books, evidently gave considerable attention to these tracts, without coming to a conclusion that was satisfactory to himself. He says, "It is altogether a singular per-

[1] The imprint of *Wonder-working Providence* gives 1654 as the date of publication. It was, however, printed in 1653; and a copy was added to the Thomason collection, now in the British Museum, "nearly four months before the close of 1653." In that copy the last figure of 1654 is erased, and a 3 is substituted. (Mr. Savage's Gleanings. Mass. Hist. Society's Col. xxviii. 284.)

"formance." Because the first and fourth tracts bear the date 1659, and the second and third the date 1658, Mr. Rich inferred that the parts were printed separately. The four, — the text of *Wonder-working Providence* excepted,— we shall see, were printed at the same time and for the same purpose. For nearly two hundred years they were not reprinted, nor found in any other form, unless they had been separated by accident, or under a misconception of their nature.

We shall begin to understand the book, when we discover, that, from beginning to end, the compilation is a fraud, deliberately contrived for extorting money from the Massachusetts Colony, by a needy and unprincipled adventurer, by name Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire.

I purpose to set forth the evidence to substantiate this statement; and, for the better understanding of the subject, shall preface the examination with a bibliographical description of the book.

The following are the four titles and the collation. The lines are indicated in the usual manner, and the rubricated words in small capitals: —

TITLE I.

AMERICA | Painted to the Life. | The true | HISTORY | of | The Spaniards Proceedings in the Conquests of the | *Indians*, and of their Civil Wars among them- | selves, from COLUMBUS his first Discovery, | to these later Times. | As also, | OF THE ORIGINAL UNDERTAKINGS OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF | Plantations into those parts; | With a perfect Relation of our English Discoveries, shewing | their Beginning, Progress and Continuance, from the Year | 1628. to 1658. Declaring the Forms of their Govern- | ment, Policies, Religions, Maners, Customs, Military Disci- | pline, Wars with the *Indians*, the Commodities of their | Countries, a Description of their Towns and Havens, | the Increase of their Trading, with the Names of | their Governors and Magistrates. | More especially, an absolute *Narrative* of the North | parts of *America*, and of the Discoveries and | Plantations of our English in | VIRGINIA, NEW-ENGLAND, and

BERBADOES. | Publiſht by FERDINANDO GORGES, Eſq; | A Work now at laſt expoſed for the publick good, to ſtir up the Heroick and | Active Spirits of theſe times, to benefit their Countrey, and Eternize | their Names by ſuch Honorable Attempts. | *For the Readers clearer underſtanding of the Countreys, they are lively | deſcribed in a compleat and exquiſite Map.* | Ovid. *Auri ſacra fames quid non*——— | LONDON. Printed for NATH. BROOK at the Angel in *Cornhil.* 1659.[1]

[1] "The compleat and exquiſite Map," six by eight inches, embracing North and South America, is entitled "Americae Descrip." The names of places are in Latin, and the scale is in German measure. As there is nothing original in the compilation, it is curious to notice where Gorges borrowed or stole its several parts. This is the identical map that was used by Thomas Gage in the second edition of his West Indies, 1655.

Besides the map, there is in some copies a folded frontispiece; but different copies have not the same frontispiece, and about half the copies I have seen have none. It appears as if the compiler inserted such pictures as he could obtain, and, when the supply failed, issued the remainder of the edition without any. Rich alludes to one of these frontispieces as follows: "Besides "the map, there is a portrait of a young "Indian woman, with a human leg in her "[left] hand; a folded plate, inscribed

"'AMERICA.

"'Tis I, in tempting diuers, for to try
"'By ſundry meanes, t' obtaine me, caus' de them dye
"'And, laſt diſcouer'd, vndiſcouer'd am:
"'For, men, to trade my Soyle, as yet, are lame.'"

A copy belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society has this frontispiece. The female holds a bow in her right hand; and in the background are four cannibals, roasting a human body upon a frame over a large fire.

Another copy, belonging to the Library of Harvard College, has a different frontispiece. An Indian female, as in the other print, is seated beneath a tree, holding a bow in her left hand, and an arrow in her right. In the background are three cannibals. One is cutting up a human body; another is roasting a human leg; and the third is drawing his arrow upon a deer. On the left of the female's head is a parrot and a scroll, with this legend, "Pavit qui genuit." Over the left shoulder of the female is "AMERICA." Under the print are the following lines: —

"Though to my Sisters long vnknowne I lay
"I am as rich, and greater farr then they
"My barbarous rudenes doth at full expreſe
"What Nature is, till wee haue Graces dreſs
"But when the gloomy shades of Death yet bee
"The ſunſhine of Gods love I hope to ſee."

The general idea seems to be the same in both prints. Each figure has a quiver suspended at the right side by a thong passing over the left shoulder. Each has a tiara of feathers upon the head, and a string of beads with a pendant about the neck. Both prints are very creditable specimens of Dutch engraving, and were doubtless used originally in some work on South America.

The copy in the Boston Athenæum, and the one in the possession of Mr. Charles Deane, of Cambridge, have no frontispiece. Mr. George Brinley, of Hartford, has two copies, one, formerly owned by Mr. Thomas Prince, with the frontispiece described by Mr. Rich, and the other with none. I have seen several other copies without a frontispiece; but they were not in their original

Collation. — Frontispiece folded. Three preliminary leaves (title, reverse blank; "To the Judicious Reader," signed "Ferdinando Gorges," 4 pages). Map folded ("Americae Descrip."). Text (running-title, "*A Description of New-England*;" signatures, B–H), 51 pages. On page 51, "Finis;" signature, F 2 [should be H 2]; catchword, "A"; reverse blank.

Title II.

A | Briefe Narration | of the | Originall Undertakings | of the | Advancement | of | Plantations | Into the parts of | America. | *Especially*, | Shewing the beginning, progress | and continuance of that of | New-England. | Written by the right Worshipfull, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* | Knight and Governour of the Fort and Island of | *Plymouth* in *Devonshire*. | *London:* | Printed by *E. Brudenell*, for *Nath. Brook* at the | *Angell* in *Corn-hill*. 1658.

Collation. — One preliminary leaf (title, reverse blank). Text (running-title, "*A Description of New-England;*" signatures, I–P) 57 pages. On page 57, "Finis;" no catchword; reverse blank.

Title III.

America | Painted to the Life. | A | True History of the originall undertakings of the advancement | of Plantations into those parts, with a perfect relation of | our *English* Discoveries, shewing their beginning, progress, and | continuance, from the year, 1628. to 1658. declaring the forms of | their Government, Policies, Religions, Manners, Customes, Military | Discipline, Warres with the *Indians*, the Commodities of their | Countries, a Description of their Townes, and Havens, the increase | of their trading with the names of their Governours and Magistrates. | *More* | Especially an absolute Narrative of the North parts of *America*, and | of the discoveries and plantations of our *English* in | *New-England*. | Written by Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Knight | and Governour of the Fort and Island of *Plimouth* in | *Devonshire*, one of the first and cheifest pro- | moters of those Plantations. | Publisht since his decease, by his Grandchild *Ferdinando Gorges* Esquire, | who hath much enlarged it and added sev-

condition, as those were which have been mentioned.

The quotation, "Ovid. *Auri sacra fames quid non*———," which is also on the title-page of the fourth tract, is not from Ovid, but is from Virgil (Æneid iii. verses 57, 58). The correct quotation is, —

"Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames!"

erall accurate Defcripti- | ons of his owne. | A work now at laft expofed for the publick good, to ftir up the heroick and active fpirits | of thefe times, to benefit their Country, and Eternize their names | by fuch honourable attempts. | For the Readers clearer underftanding of the Country's they are lively defcribed in a | compleat and exquifite Map. | *Vivit poft funera virtus.* | *London;* Printed by *E. Brudenell*, for *Nathaniel Brook* dwelling at | the Angel in *Corn-hill.* 1658.

Collation.—Two preliminary leaves (title, reverse blank, "To the Reader," signed "Ferdinando Gorges," 2 pages). Text (*Wonder-working Providence* complete, the original impression of 1654; signatures, B–H h) 236 pages. "Courteous Reader, Thefe Books following are printed for *Nathaniel Brooke*," &c., 4 pages, without folios.

TITLE IV.

America | Painted to the Life. | The | Hiftory | of the | Spaniards Proceedings in America, their Con- | quefts of the *Indians*, and of their | Civil Wars among themfelves. | From | *Columbus* his firft Difcovery, to thefe | later Times. | By | *Ferdinando Gorges*, Efq; | Ovid. *Auri facra fames quid non*— | *London*, Printed by *T. J.* for *Nath. Brook* at the *Angel* in *Cornhil.* 1659.

Collation.—Two preliminary leaves (title, reverse blank; "The Preface," signed "Ferdinando Gorges," 2 pages.) Text (running-title, "*The Hiftory of* AMERICA, *Painted to the Life;*" signatures, B–H) 52 pages. On page 52 are "Finis," "The Poft-fcript," and catchword "The." Then follows "The General Table," 17 pages, without folios. This is a General Index to the entire compilation; but, as each has separate paging, there is no indication as to which one of the four tracts contains the subject referred to. Three pages, without folios, of "*Books lately printed, and in the Prefs now printing*," conclude the compilation.

For convenience of designation, I shall speak of the compilation as four tracts, although in design and execution the book is a unit.

The first title and preface serves for the entire compilation, as well as for the tract to which it is prefixed. The title is taken

mainly from that prefixed to the third tract; and the portion relating to "the Spaniards Proceedings" is from the title of the fourth tract. The opening sentence of the preface alludes to the second tract.

Ferdinando Gorges, the younger, is the writer of the first tract. In his general preface, he is very careful in mentioning his authorities. First, of course, is "My Grandfather, Lord and chiefe "Governour by a Patent from the late King, upon the description "of which Province I have insisted the more largely, as well for "that it hath not been particularly mentioned by others, as for the "peculiar interest I my selfe have in it as legally descending to "me by right of inheritance, nor do I doubt, though my just claim "be unjustly opposed by those of the Matachusets Bay, but when "the matter comes to be decided by a legall hearing, it will be "seriously pondered," &c.

It appears, therefore, that Gorges had a claim against "the "Matachusets Bay," which he purposed to bring to a legal decision; and that this book is a part of the case he was working up for the trial. The reader will please carry this fact in mind, as it exhibits the motive of the compiler, and will aid in solving many of the difficulties which abound in the volume.

To the "relation of my Grandfather" he has "added both "out of the choicest Authors as Davity [*sic*], Jean de laet, An-"thony Herrera, Oviedo, Francis Ximenes, Champlain Sparbot "and others, . . . as Mr. Edward Godfrey, Mr. Robert Gorges and "others."

Godfrey was one of the persons associated with Sir Ferdinando in his attempts to settle Maine; and Mr. Robert Gorges was the son of Sir Ferdinando, and uncle of the author. Who "Davity" was, or what use was made of the French and Spanish authorities, of Edward Godfrey and Mr. Robert Gorges, in his first tract, is not apparent; but it is very obvious what use he

made of an obscure New-England writer, whose name or whose work he did not mention.[1]

One instance of his use of Johnson's work has already been mentioned, on page xi. Page after page can be quoted from his tract, and it can be shown where from Johnson he obtained every fact, incident, and expression. This is not necessary. I will simply show some of the errors and typographical mistakes he appropriated to himself from our author.

1. Johnson (page 133), under the date of 1638, says: "This "yeare . . . they began to erect a Colledge, the Lord by his provi- "dent hand giving his approbation to the work, in sending over a "faithfull and godly servant of his, the reverend Mr. *John Harverd*, "who joyning with the people of Christ at *Charles Towne*, sud- "dainly after departed this life, and gave near a thousand pound "toward this work; wherefore the Government thought it meet "to call it *Harverd Colledge* in remembrance of him."

Gorges (page 35) makes of this statement the following, and locates the College in *Charlestown:* "About this time (1638) "several well minded people began to erect a Colledge at Charles "Town, to which one Mr. John Harverd was very assistant, and at "his death gave a thousand pound toward it, whence it was called "*Harverd* Colledge."

Again, Johnson (page 165), under the date of 1640, and in a chapter on "The First Promotion of Learning in New-England," alludes to the College, and says, "The chief gift towards the "foundation of this Colledg, was by Mr. *John Harnes* [mis- "print for *John Harverd*], a reverend Minister, the country being "very weak in their public Treasury, expended about 500. l. "towards it, and for the maintenance thereof, gave the yearly

[1] Some of his statements he took from John Smith's "Trve Travels," 1630, and others from "Brief Relation," 1622, in Purchas iv. He made use also of his Grandfather's Patent.

"revenue of a Ferry paſſage between Boſton and Charles Town, "the which amounts to about 40. or 50. l. per annum."

F. Gorges, Esquire, was evidently puzzled at this statement. The College first described, located at Charlestown, was founded by Mr. John Harverd, who gave it near a thousand pounds. But here was a College established (as he understood it), two years later, at "New-Town, now named Cambridg," its chief benefactor being Mr. John Harnes, who gave it only £500, and the revenue of a ferry. This College must certainly be a different institution from the one before mentioned. It was very strange, however, that two colleges should be started in a colony not yet ten years old. Thus must have reasoned the veracious Ferdinando, who read "Davity, de laet, Herrera, Oviedo, Ximenes, "Champlain Sparbot," in their original tongues, as authorities in New-England history.

The difficulty, however, must be grappled with and solved. He inclines to the first hypothesis, that there were two colleges, and makes history as follows: —

"This year [1640] alſo was laid the foundation of *another* Colledge at New-"town, otherwiſe called Cambridge, being ſcituated upon a ſpacious plain, near "a fair navigable river, and environed with many neighbouring towns of note, "it is at preſent inlarged by the purchaſe of neighbour-houſes, having a fair "hall, convenient ſtudies, and a good Library;[1] the chieſe Beneſactor was one "Mr. *John Harnes*, who expended about 500 pound towards it, beſides a yearly "revenue for the maintenance of a Ferry paſſage, between Boſton and Charleſ-"town."

2. In a note on page xvii. allusion was made to a typographical mistake which Josselyn took from Johnson. Gorges appropriated to himself the same error, and his book was printed six years before Josselyn's. Johnson's description of the boundaries of Cambridge is noticeable, not only for its typographical error, but

[1] All this description will be found in Johnson, pp. 164-5.

for the quaint comparison introduced, "being in forme," he says (p. 61), "like a list cut off from the Broad-cloath of the two fore-"named Towns, . . . reaching from the most Northerly part of "Charles River, to the most Southerly part of *Merrimeck* [mis-"print for *Mystic*] River." Gorges (p. 30) works up this information thus: "In forme like a list of Broad-Cloath, reaching to "the most Southerly part of *Merimeck-River*."

If the error had stopped here, the circumstance would have been less noticeable. John Ogilby, in his illustrated folio entitled "America," 1671, took his account of Cambridge, as well as of other New-England towns, from Gorges, and in it incorporated both the blunders just described. Ogilby's description (p. 160) is as follows:—

"It is in form like a List of Broad-cloth, reaching to the most Southerly part "of Merrimeck River: it hath comely and well order'd Streets, and *two* fair "Colledges; the first called Harverd Colledge, from Mr John Harverd, who at "his death gave a thousand Pounds to it; to the other Mr John Harnes was the "chief Benefactor."[1]

From Ogilby the errors went into nearly all the general histories that appeared for the next half-century. Richard Blome (History of Jamaica, 1671), in a summary of New-England towns, mentions (p. 182) "Cambridge, formerly called New-Town, seated "on the River *Merrimeck;* this town consisteth of several streets, "and is beautified with *two* Colledges."

3. Johnson (p. 79) says of Concord, that it "is seated upon a

[1] Ogilby says this town was called by the Indians *Amongcangen*. Where did he obtain this name? Captain John Smith, in the summer of 1614, explored the coast from Penobscot Bay to Cape Cod, and prepared a map of the same, which he subsequently presented to Prince Charles for revision. On this map Captain Smith inserted, as pleased his fancy, the names of English towns where there were no English settlements. Boston he placed near the mouth of the Merrimack River, and Cambridge some thirty miles from the coast of Maine, on the Androscoggin River. *Amongcangen* is probably an incorrect form of the Indian name of that locality.

"branch of that large river of *Merrimeck Allwifes*, and *Shad* in "their feafon come up to this towne, but *Salmon* and *Daice* "cannot come up, by reafon of the Rocky falles." The misplacement of a comma led Gorges astray in his geographical citation; for an *Alewife* was an American fish of which he had never heard. He therefore places the town of Concord "upon "a branch of that large river of *Merimeck Allwives*." Ogilby copied the name of this strange New-England river into his "America," and it doubtless can be found in other histories.

4. Johnson (p. 172), through another mistake of his printer, makes the extraordinary statement that "for this year 1642, . . . "the number of Freemen added was about 1232." The whole number of admissions during the entire period since the settlement of the colony was but 1292. The error was one likely to be detected by any person at all familiar with New-England history. Immigration at that time was very limited. More persons probably went back, to take sides with Parliament against the King, than came over.[1] This was the kind of error that Gorges would be most likely to steal, and he took it. Johnson, two lines below, spoke of the great fall in the price of cattle, which had "continued at an exceffive price fo long as any came over with "eftates to purchafe them."[2]

[1] It is remarkable that Dr. Holmes, in his Annals (1805), i. 324; and Williamson, History of Maine, ii. 290, should have quoted these figures without a suspicion of their inaccuracy.

[2] The number of freemen admitted in 1642, who were chiefly, I suppose, the sons of planters arriving at the age of sixteen years (Col. Rec. i. 139), was 138. Mr. Savage (Winthrop ii. 74) makes the number 137. He says, "I have diligently examined "the records, and find [the admissions] in "May, 113; in June, 6; in September, 2; "in December, at Salem, 9; in February, 7 "= 137." Mr. Savage, however, omitted the name of Willi: Pinchon, who took the oath August 11.

In collating Mr. Savage's list of freemen, 1642 (App. K, ed. 1826) with the original records of the colony at the State House, I noticed several variations. The two most important — Humphrey Keyne for Humphrey Reynr, and Wm. Lowell for Wm. Lewes — he corrected in his edition of 1853. Still, the original orthography of names is not preserved in Mr. Savage's later edition. In

5. There is an error in the heading of the chapter on page 87, by which the town of "Sandwicht" is inserted instead of "Dukes-"berry," respecting which the chapter treats. Gorges finds the name of the latter town in the description, and, concluding that the names refer to the same locality, appropriates the information as follows: "The 13th Town is in Plimouth Government, ſcituate "upon the Sea-coaſt firſt named *Dukes*-Bury, afterward *Sand-*"*wich*." Ogilby has the same. The towns of Duxbury and Sandwich are quite as diſtinct localities as Boston and Springfield. A similar mistake in the heading of the chapter on page 210, where "Haverhill" is inserted instead of Andover, he also appropriates to himself. On page 185, fourth line, the word printed "years" Johnson doubtless wrote "daies." The printed form — which requires Uncas to hold the Narraganset chieftain Miantonemo a prisoner at Hartford several *years* before he put him to death — answers Gorges's purpose, and he copies it. But it is not necessary to multiply these instances of blundering plagiarisms.

The point of objection is not that he copied from *Wonder-working Providence*, or that he copied many of its typographical errors, — for there was no other work extant that gave so full an account of the Massachusetts Colony, and, with his entire ignorance of New-England matters, it was not possible for him to correct its errors, — but the charge is, that, pretending to give his authorities, he suppressed the title of the book (its author he

the list of 1642, Tayler is printed *Tuylor*, Stoder is *Stodder*, Leoman is *Looman*, Guil is *Guile*, Pebody is *Peabody*, Ropper is *Roper*, Thackster is *Thaxter*. In his first edition, Mr. Savage very properly omitted in one place the name of John Tomkins, which was inserted twice, and in both places queried. He mistook, however, the query (qu:) for "jun." In the second edition, the name before rejected is restored, and the two appear as "John Tomkins, senr.," and "John "Tomkins, junr." The Christian names, also, when contracted in the Record, are often given in full, and *vice versa*. Mr. Savage's lists are free modernized transcripts, and are not exact copies of the originals.

probably did not know) from which he took nearly every fact that had a direct bearing upon the professed subject of his tract, namely, "A Description of New-England." When the evidence is all before us, we shall see that his omission to mention this work was not an oversight, but was a deliberate fraud. The acknowledgment would have been fatal to the object he had in view in making the compilation. The impression he would make was, that his Grandfather had effected all the creditable deeds that had been wrought in New-England.

The impudence of his concluding paragraph (p. 46) is in harmony with the audacity of his plagiarisms: —

"Thus much I thought fit to publish concerning *New-England*, besides the "relation of all my Grand-Fathers proceedings for the effecting of what he so "long aim'd at, namely the setling plantations in those parts, I have likewise "given a very exact account of the Country, described both the scituation, the "temperature of the climate the fertility of the soile, the nature and qualities "of the people, the traffick and commodities the Country affordeth, *in a more "exact and methodicall manner, then hath hitherto been performed by all "others.*"[1]

It will not be questioned, that the second tract was written, as it purports to be, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. It is a valuable contribution to the history of Maine, and worthy of the place it occupies in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (xxvi.), and of the Maine Historical Society (ii.) It is

[1] Mr. William Tudor (North American Review, ii. 291) gave an account of this tract, in which he fell into some very strange errors. The title, which he quoted at length, is not its proper title, but that of the third tract. He speaks of it as having two prefaces, one "by the elder Gorges, as well as "another by his grandson; but how much "of the work was written by the former is "difficult to discover." He makes extended quotations from it respecting New England, without being aware that what he copied was stolen from *Wonder-working Providence*. He evidently had not in his possession the entire compilation, nor had he given the subject much attention. In the same volume, he noticed "Briefe Narration," and much in the same way.

the only portion of the entire compilation that is not stamped with fraud and misrepresentation.

The tract was probably written shortly before his death, and some forty years after the more important events in the narration occurred. The Grandson says, in the preface of the first tract, that it "was left unfinisht." Sir Ferdinando's memory failed him on some points, which have been more minutely described by other writers. One instance is the date of the death of Sir John Popham.[1]

The whole titlepage of the tract, however, I do not regard as genuine. He did not propose to himself to write "the Beginning, "Progress, and Continuance of the Plantations of New-England," as the term New-England was then used in Great Britain. He wrote simply about his unsuccessful attempts to settle his "Prov-"ince of Mayne." He knew nothing about the successful plantations of New-England, and did not pretend to that knowledge. As an honest man (as his modern eulogists claim him to be, and which I am not disposed to question), he could not have written the concluding portion of the title prefixed to his tract. He had been dead twelve years when his tract was printed, and, as he left it unfinished, it is by no means clear that he gave it any title. That portion of the title which has been alluded to was evidently written with the design of making the titlepage conform to the

[1] Gorges says that when the vessel, the "Mary and John," Captain Davies (which sailed from Sagadahoc on the 15th of December, 1607), arrived in England, "so soon "as it came to the Lord cheife justice hands, "he gave out order to the Councell for send-"ing them back with supplies necessary. . . . "The supplies being furnished and all things "ready onely attending for a faire wind, "which hapned not before the news of the "chief justice death was posted to them" (page 9). The concurrent testimony of Popham's biographers is that he died in June, 1607, — Campbell says on the first day of the month, and Foss, on the tenth. It is probable that the order to send back supplies was given by his son, Sir Francis Popham, who, Gorges says (Briefe Narration, p. 10), "could not so give it over, but continued to "send thither several years after in hope of "better fortunes, but found it fruitless."

running-title, "A Defcription of New-England," which is a pure fabrication. The running-titles of the first and second tracts are the same; they were printed at the same time, and from the same type, as certain peculiarities of the impression show.[1]

We are now to consider the third tract, which is Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*, with the fabricated titlepage already quoted, and the following Preface: —

"TO THE READER.

"I Thought it a part of my duty, in this my briefe Narration of our Planta-
"tions to remember the Originall Undertaking of thofe defignes in the parts
"of America, by fuch Noble Spirits of our Nation that firft attempted it, as
"well for the juftification of the right thereof, properly belonging to Kings of
"our Nation, before any other Prince or State, as alfo the better to cleare the
"claime made thereunto by the Embaffadour of France, in the behalfe of his
"Mafter, in the yeare 1624. whereto I was required to make anfwer (as more
"at large it appeares in the difcourfe it felfe, withall to leave to pofterity the
"particular wayes by which it hath beene brought to the height it is come unto,
"wherein the providence of our Great GOD is efpecially to be obferved, who
"by the leaft and weakeft meanes, oftentimes effecteth great and wonderfull
"things; all which I have endeavoured to contract in as fhort a compaffe, as
"the length of the time and the variety of the accidents would give leave, as for
"the truth thereof, I prefume it is fo publiquely known, as malice it felfe dares
"not onely queftion it, though I know none, I thank my God to whom I have
"given any juft caufe malitiouflY to attempt it unleffe it be for the defire I

[1] Mr. Rich, as has been mentioned, supposed that the first and second tracts, as they had different dates and separate paging, were printed separately. This cannot be true. The signatures of the first tract run regularly into the second. In the running-title common to both, an odd old English *w* is found in the "New England" on the signature pages of both tracts, which identifies them as being, in printers' language, "one job." As each form is worked, the other matter is distributed; but the running-titles are allowed to remain on the imposing-stone in their same relative positions, in readiness for the next form.

" had to do good to all without wronging of any, as by the courſe of my life to " this preſent it may appear.

" If in the concluſion of my undertaking and expence of my fortunes to " advance the honour and happineſſe of my Nation, I have ſetled a portion " thereof to thoſe that in nature muſt ſucceed me; you may be pleaſed to re- " member that the Labourer is worthy of his hire.

" That I have not exceeded others not better deſerving that I go hand in hand " with the meaneſt in this great worke, to whom the charge thereof was com- " mitted by royall Authority.

" That I have opened the way to greater imployments and ſhalbe (as a hand " ſet up in a croſſe way) in a defert Country to point all travellers in ſuch like " kind, how they may come ſafe to finiſh their journeys end leaving an example " to others beſt affected to deſignes of ſuch like nature to proſecute their intents " for further in largement of thoſe begun Plantations, without trenching or in- " truding upon the rights and labours of others already poſſeſſed, of what is " juſtly granted them.

" Eſpecially of ſuch, who in ſome ſort may be termed Benefactours as Sec- " ondary donors of what (by Gods favour) is had, or to be had from thoſe ſprings " they firſt found and left to poſterity to bath themſelves in, but if there be any, " otherwiſe affected, as better delighted to reap what they have not ſown, or to " poſſeſs the fruit another hath laboured for, let ſuch be aſſured, ſo great injuſtice " will never want a woſull attendance to follow cloſe at the heeles, if not ſtayed " behind to bring after a more terrible revenge; But my truſt is ſuch, impiety " will not be ſuddenly harboured where the whole work is I hope ſtill continued " for the enlargement of the Chriſtian faith, the ſupportation of juſtice, and love " of peace, in aſſurance whereof, I will conclude and tell you (as I have lived " long) ſo I have done what I could, let thoſe that come after me doe for their " parts what they may, and I doubt not but the God that governes all, will " reward their labours that continuein his ſervice, to whom be Glory for ever, " Amen.

FERDINANDO GORGES."

The Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society supposed that this Preface belonged to Sir Ferdinando's " Brieſe Narration," and had been misplaced in binding. In their reprint they therefore prefixed it to that tract. The Publishing Committee of the Maine Historical Society have also prefixed it to their reprint, without a word of apology or explanation.

I beg to submit the opinion that both Committees have made a mistake; that this Preface belonged where they found it; and that it has no possible connection with "Briefe Narration," for the following reasons: —

1. No copy of the Tracts, in their original condition, has been found with this Preface so inserted.

2. The arrangement of signatures will not admit of that order. The first tract ends in the middle of signature H. The title-leaf of the second tract and the first leaf of the text complete signature H. On the second leaf of the text follows signature I. There is therefore no place for a Preface to "Briefe Narration."

3. The style of composition in the Preface is not that of Sir Ferdinando. Without referring to the style of "Briefe Narration," — which may have been tampered with by his Grandson, — the letters he wrote to his shipmasters, the answers he made to the proceedings against him in Parliament, and especially his "Defence against the Charge of having Betrayed the Earl of Essex,"[1] show that Sir Ferdinando wrote forcible and idiomatic English. The Preface is not English. It bears in every line traces of the maudlin intellect and shallow duplicity of the Grandson. If not written by Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, its authorship must be ascribed to the Mrs. Gamp of that period.

4. The subject-matter precludes the idea that it was written by Sir Ferdinando, unless we assume that he had as little regard for truth as we know his Grandson had. It speaks of "great and "wonderfull things affected in the providence of God." "Briefe Narration" mentions nothing of this kind; but is a mournful record of losses, disappointments, and disasters. Great and wonderful things were indeed, in the Providence of God, effected in New-England, and *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour*

[1] Printed in Mr. Folsom's "Catalogue of Original Documents in the English Archives relating to the Early History of the State of Maine," 1858, p. 118.

in New-England records them. They occurred, however, in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and not in the puny settlements on the Sagadahoc and the Agamenticus, to which Sir Ferdinando's narration exclusively relates. The allusions to "trenching or "intruding upon the rights and labors of others"; of "reaping "what they had not ſown"; of "poſſeſſing the fruit another hath "labored for"; and the warning that "ſo great injuſtice will never "want a woeful attendance" and "terrible revenge,"—indicate unmistakably the writer. In the lifetime of Sir Ferdinando, the question of jurisdiction and encroachment had not arisen.

5. "Brieſe Narration" needed no preface: *Wonder-working Providence*, in its new relation, did. A counterfeit must have some resemblance to the genuine article, or it is no counterfeit. The design was to convey to the reader the impression, or rather to strengthen the positive statement on the fabricated titlepage, that *Wonder-working Providence* was written by Sir Ferdinando. This was done by mingling some facts and expressions from his tract with the tone of Puritan piety which pervades Johnson's book. It was a very crude and bungling scheme; but it was all its author was capable of. The wonder is that any person has been deceived by it.

The fourth tract requires no especial notice. It contains no allusion to New-England, and is a feeble epitome of Spanish conquests in America.

We now come to consider the motive and plan of Gorges in concocting this strange compilation.

The private fortune of Sir Ferdinando was in a ruined condition before his decease. The loss of some £20,000 in his attempts

to settle his "Province of Mayne" was but the beginning of his pecuniary misfortunes. When open hostilities broke out between the forces of the Long Parliament and of King Charles I., Gorges, an old man, threw himself and his fortune into the conflict. He attended the king on his expedition to Scotland in 1641. He was in Prince Rupert's army at the siege of Bristol, in 1643; and, when that city was retaken in 1645 by the Parliamentary forces, he was imprisoned and his property sequestered.[1] The King, in his letter to the Massachusetts Colony, June 11, 1665,[2] says he was "plundered and imprisoned several times, and thereby dis-"abled from any further expenses in carrying on the said planta-"tion." He died, it is supposed, in 1647, when the fortunes of his King and the cause to which he had committed himself were growing more and more desperate. We cannot withhold our pity for this old man, overwhelmed with misfortunes in his last days.[3]

[1] See Gorges's Petitions in Folsom's Documents, pp. 22. 61. Belknap's Life of Gorges, Am. Biog. i. 389.

[2] Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 244.

[3] His mode of colonization was bad; but I cannot believe that he was a bad man. His views as to the importance of planting English colonies in this western world were far in advance of the men of his time. If he engaged in the enterprise solely on the theory of a commercial speculation, it can be said in his behalf that it was the best theory which had then been developed. His error was, that, with his knowledge of men and of the world, he did not project a better one. His plan of colonizing with convicts must be attributed to his copartner, Sir John Popham, and to the example of French adventurers. A military and a naval commander, he had many of the qualities that adorn those noble professions. His convictions were strong and decided, and he hesitated not to act upon them. He believed in royalty, and was ready to stake his life in its defense. He was attached to the person of Charles I., and, when more than seventy years of age, he was eager to fight for the King. The scandalous excesses of his colonists in Maine he denounced in withering terms before a Committee of Parliament. (See Briefe Narration, p. 28. Compare Folsom's Docs. p. 68. Hutchinson's Collections, p. 424.)

The following incident, which was much to his credit, is not mentioned by his biographer Belknap, nor by his recent "Vindicator," Mr. John A. Poor. Charles I., in 1625, sent an English fleet to Dieppe, under the pretense on the part of Louis XIII., that he was to employ it against the Genoese, who were then allies of Spain. While the fleet was lying in the French port, a suspicion arose among the sailors that their services were to be employed against the

Of his eldest son and heir, John Gorges, we know but little. He probably died soon after the death of his father; and *his* son Ferdinando came into possession of all the title the Grandfather had in a vast tract of wild territory in Maine. All attempts of Gorges the elder, when he had capital and influence, to settle and improve this territory, had resulted in disaster. Gorges the younger had neither capital, influence, nor brains for such an undertaking. All he could do was to complain that Massachusetts had encroached on his Grandfather's patent, and demand remuneration for the said trespass. The Massachusetts Government stoutly denied the justice of the claim (on grounds which will be stated hereafter), and refused compensation. For ten years subsequent to the death of his Grandfather, there was no one to listen to his whine for remuneration but cowed exiles and royalists. Oliver Cromwell was Protector of the Massachusetts Colony, as well as of England. Gorges, in those weary years, had no consolation but a hope of seeing an end of the Puritan Commonwealth and a restoration of the Stuarts. Meanwhile, the nominal

Huguenots at Rochelle. The sailors remonstrated to Pennington, the commander, and declared that they had rather be hanged in England, for disobedience to orders, than fight their brother Protestants in France. The fleet returned to England; and it was sent back to France, with a false rumor that peace had been concluded with the Huguenots, and with positive orders to serve under the French King. Pennington put his flagship under French control; the other commanders, with reluctance, surrendered in like manner; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges came away with his ship, the *Neptune*, and returned again to England, where his conduct was applauded by the people and by the House of Commons. A general desertion of officers and sailors followed, and the expedition was abandoned. (Rushworth's Collections, i. 175; Hume, chap. 50.)

Low cunning and deception, the leading traits in the character of his descendant, seemed to have been his especial detestation.

Judge Sullivan (District of Maine, pp. 73, 237) has a different estimate of the character of Gorges. He considers him "a man of "great ambition, very avaricious, very despotic, and never considered a man of integrity." Mr. E. C. Benedict, of New York (The Beginning of America: a Discourse, Nov. 17, 1863), says, "If there was ever a "man of pretension, a favorite and a parasite of a powerful monarch, who was "always unsuccessful, that man was Sir "Ferdinando Gorges. Whatever he touched "failed" (p. 33).

proprietor of the largest tract of land claimed by any subject in the British realm, was a needy expectant, a seedy gentleman, as unscrupulous and tricky as he was necessitous.[1]

On the third day of September, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died. Richard Cromwell was but the shadow of his father's name. It needed no prophet's ken to see that the days of the Commonwealth were numbered. Gorges's time had now come. He proceeded without delay to prepare his case. So far as Charles II. was concerned, it was sufficient to plead, on the one hand, the services and losses of his Grandfather in the defense of Charles I.; and, on the other hand, that the Massachusetts colonists were Puritans, and offered a shelter to the regicides of "the Blessed Martyr." The King's counsellors, however, and perhaps a committee of Parliament, might be more inquisitive, and wish to know what the Gorges family had done for the New-England plantations. A "Memorial Volume" must therefore be prepared, which should be "A Vindication of the Claims of Sir Ferdinando "Gorges, as the Father of English Colonization in America." The "Gorges Tracts" — the "Popham Memorial" of two centuries ago — was the result; and Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, was its author.

The construction of this volume is a curiosity in book-making. He found among the papers of his Grandfather a "Briefe Narration" of disastrous attempts to settle his "Province of Mayne." This must have a place in the collection, as it will show one part of his case, that his Grandfather had met with great losses. But the more important fact that the family was connected with the successes in New-England,—how was this to be shown? Here, surely, a difficulty presented itself. Gorges had never been in New-England, and knew nothing of Massachusetts Bay, the largest

[1] Judge Sullivan says (p. 383), "Gorges was a man of no resolution, and was exceedingly necessitous."

and most flourishing colony. By some means, which we are not able to trace, and which are not essential for our present inquiry, he found a volume with the quaint title of *Wonder-working Providence*, giving precisely the information he needed; but advocating views of ecclesiastical polity, and expressed in a style of Puritan sanctity, utterly inconsistent with the opinions and style of his Grandfather, and of his own. Necessity, however, knows no law; and men of his stamp never haggle with consistency. He looks up the publisher, and finds that Mr. Nathaniel Brooke, in his shop at the Angel in Cornhill, has a quantity of the sheets of this book still unsold. We can readily imagine the publisher as not unwilling to dispose of his old stock on favorable terms. The publisher, when the plan of the new compilation was explained to him, might have become a partner in the transaction. It is not necessary to assume that the publisher engaged in it with fraudulent intentions. The author of the book was unknown in England. For five years it had been before the public, and no one had claimed it. A statement from Gorges, that his Grandfather was the author, would not have appeared to the publisher as improbable. Publishers at the present day know but little of the books they print. They probably knew less then. Besides, Mr. Nathaniel Brooke, as will be seen by his list appended to *Wonder-working Providence*, was a publisher of works chiefly on astrology, necromancy, and similar topics. Nothing, therefore, in the line of absurdity, would raise a doubt in his mind.

A new Titlepage, ascribing the authorship to the Grandfather, and a new Preface to match, are all that is needed for a basis of operations. Two tracts are now provided for. To give greater variety, and to show his own paces in historical composition, Gorges prepares two others, — one on New-England, the main facts of which he takes from Johnson, for the first tract; and one on Spanish America, for the fourth. Now for the printing.

More than half the matter is already in print. The other tracts he puts in type, imitating, as nearly as he can, the printed page of *Wonder-working Providence.* He counts the lines on a full page of the latter: they are thirty-eight. His new matter he makes thirty-eight lines to a page. The width of the page is also copied accurately. The running-titles of the first and second tracts are made to correspond to the subject-matter of the third. And yet he would give the impression that the several parts were not printed at the same time; and so he dates them 1659 and 1658.[1]

Gorges was not so stupid as to overlook the bald anachronism involved in his plan; namely, that his Grandfather, who died in 1647, was the writer of a narrative describing events which occurred in the Massachusetts Colony as late as 1651. This he provided for in his fabricated titlepage, thus: "Written by "Sir Ferdinando Gorges Knight, and Governour of the Fort "and Iſland of Plimouth in Devonſhire, one of the firſt and "cheiſeſt promoters of thoſe Plantations. Publiſht ſince his "deceaſe, by his Grandchild Ferdinando Gorges Eſquire, *who* "*hath much enlarged it and added ſeveral accurate Deſcriptions* "*of his owne.*" The last thirty-three pages, therefore, poetry, piety, and history, he wrote himself!

The agency of Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, in this surreptitious use of *Wonder-working Providence*, has been denied. The name

[1] The Printer's name, "E. Brudenell," is omitted on the first titlepage, but is given on the second and third. The fourth tract purports to be printed by "T. J." Brudenell is probably the person thus mentioned in Folsom's "Documents on Maine," page 3: — "(1630?) Petition of Edmond Brudenell, "Eſq. to the Privy Council — Being about "to make a voyage to New England, solicits "permiſſion to ſhip three or four pieces of "ordnance, alſo 200 £ in money, &c." The name does not appear in the Massachusetts Records, and it is probable that he did not come over.

of the Gorges family, having rested under "a cloud of obloquy"[1] for more than two centuries, has in these latter days bloomed forth with unwonted splendor and fragrance on the shores of Maine.

The Maine Historical Society is committed to the theory that "the great event of American history"[2] took place August 19, O. S., 1607, when a company of one hundred and twenty persons, chiefly convicts, were landed on the peninsula of Sabino, at the mouth of the Sagadahoc (now Kennebec) River, more than half of whom returned to England the next December, and the remainder the following Spring.[3]

Every historical writer of Maine, whether remaining on the old homestead, or gracing the literary circles of metropolitan centers, is expected to, and many of them do, defend this new theory. Are not all their speeches and letters preserved in the "Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration of August 29, 1862"?

Mr. George Folsom, of New York, the accomplished historian, who, as Publishing Committee, wrote, in 1847, the "Preliminary "Notice" to the reprint of Sir Ferdinando's "Briefe Narration" in the Maine Historical Society's Collections, considers it "the "most plausible conjecture" that the publisher was the real

[1] Poor's Vindication of Gorges, p. 86.

[2] Opening sentence of the formal Oration at the Popham Celebration, August 29, 1862. (Popham Memorial, p. 57.)

[3] It has been discovered that the Plymouth settlement was an insignificant affair, "as a political event, not of the slightest "consequence or importance." (Poor's Vindication, p. 72.) It was simply "a nursling "of Maine." (Popham Memorial, p. 149.) "Massachusetts, even, may look back with "gratitude, as she beholds the fostering hand "of Maine, as an elder sister, watching at "the cradle of her own infancy." (Idem., p. 152.)

The views I entertain respecting this theory will be found in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of April 11, and May 31, 1866. These articles, with the replies they elicited from Rev. Edward Ballard, D.D., of Brunswick, Me., Messrs. Wiggin and Lunt, of Boston, have reprinted in a pamphlet, entitled "The Popham Colony; a Discussion "of its Historical Claims. With a Bib-"liography of the Subject." 1866. 8°, 72 pp.

culprit. "Yet some historical writers," he adds, "have not "hesitated to make this matter a subject of reproach to the "younger Gorges, as if the deception had been practised by "his agency, of which there is not the slightest evidence."[1]

Mr. Folsom proceeds: "For all that is now known, the decep- "tion, when it came to his knowledge, may have been denounced "by him in proper terms."

This mode of defense is as convenient as it is comprehensive; and, if admitted, will cover most of the literary and historical peccadilloes ever committed. It would be quite consistent with the character of Gorges to make such a denunciation; and, if one could be found, it would not add to his disgrace.

"At all events," Mr. Folsom concludes, "so far as appears "from the occasional notices of this gentleman, especially in "respect to the maintenance of his hereditary right against the "claims of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, he bore a highly "honorable character, and acquitted himself in that controversy "with firmness and independence."

The connection between firmness and independence, and common honesty,— for that is the subject now under consideration,— is not quite apparent. Mr. Folsom's opinion, on any historical question that he had carefully examined, is entitled to much re-

[1] As Mr. Prince, Mr. Rich, and the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, have noticed the deception, but have not fixed the charge upon Gorges, perhaps Mr. Folsom had in mind Ternaux, the French bibliographer of early books on America, who in his "Bibliothèque Américaine," Paris, 1837, says, "Une grande "partie de ce livre n'est que la réimpression "d'ouvrages déjà publiés que l'auteur s'est "appropriés avec une rare impudence."

Mr. S. G. Drake also, in a note on page 188 of his reprint of Mather's "Relation of "Troubles," &c., says, "Johnson's *Wonder-* "*working Providence* appears to have been "taken by Sir Ferdinando Gorges the "younger, who, by canceling the titlepage "and substituting one with his own name "as author, imposed on the public."

Mr. Drake, in this statement, has fallen into two errors. Gorges the younger had no right to, and did not claim, the title of knighthood. Neither did he put "his own "name as author," upon the titlepage, otherwise than as *enlarging* what had been written by his ancestor.

spect; but, as a son of Maine, he has, I apprehend, been led into this superficial defense by his respect for the name of Gorges, and his sympathy with opinions then held by the Maine Historical Society.[1]

Mr. Folsom's valuable "Catalogue of Original Documents" will furnish him with ample material for estimating the moral qualities of this person. I have noted several points to which I might call his attention. Reference to a single page only must suffice.

On page 22 is a petition of Gorges, in the year 1675, to King Charles II., for the King's enforcement of his claim against the Massachusetts Colony; in which he says "that the said Sir Ferdi-"nando Gorges did expend upwards of £30,000" in his attempts to settle Maine, — which is £10,000 higher than Sir Ferdinando, or any other person has stated it.

Again, Gorges says "that the Massachusetts have endeavoured "to enter into terms with petitioner, that he has been offered "*many thousand pounds* for his interest in the province, but has "firmly refused the same, having promised neither to sell or "alienate the same without the Consent of the King."

It is idle to claim moral rectitude for a person who could put on record such an unmitigated falsehood as that the Massachusetts Colony had offered Gorges *many thousand pounds* for his interest in the province of Maine. If he had such an offer, why did he not accept it, instead of waiting two years, and then ac-

[1] The Popham theory *par excellence*, in 1847, was not invented. Mr. Folsom, in a Discourse, September 6, 1846 (Maine Hist. Coll. ii. 31), speaking of the Popham settlement, says, "How superior was the spirit "exhibited twelve years after by the Pilgrim "emigrants at Plymouth! Had a tithe of "their energy and resolute spirit animated "the Kennebec colonists, whose resources "were so much superior, a more grateful "task might have awaited the pen that "should relate the story of this enterprise." It appears in Popham Memorial, p. 359, that Mr. Folsom accepts the new claims of the Maine Historical Society.

cepting £1250 from the same party? The precise sum which the Massachusetts Government had offered Gorges was £500.[1] This offer was made for the purpose of ending an irritating controversy, which was endangering their charter, and their amicable relations with the crown; for the King had recognized the claim of Gorges, and was determined that he should receive compensation, or that Massachusetts should abandon the territory.[2]

The King, it appears, had intended to buy the Mason and Gorges claims himself, for the purpose of setting up a Dukedom on the territory, now New Hampshire and Maine, for his illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth.[3] Gorges's motive in falsely stating that he had an offer of many thousand pounds from the Massachusetts Colony was evidently to obtain better terms from the King.

His promise to royalty itself was, like his word or statement in every other matter, worthless. He had "promised," he said in his petition, "neither to sell or alienate the same without the Con-"sent of the King;" and forthwith he sold out to an agent of the Massachusetts Colony, without the consent, or even knowledge, of the King. When, more than a year after the deeds had passed, the King heard of the transaction, his Majesty was highly indignant; and he wrote a sharp letter to Boston, denouncing the sale as illegal, and requiring that it be canceled on the repayment of the purchase-money.[4]

The King, at the time, had not the ready money to refund the £1250; and, soon after, he was prevailed upon by the Duke of York to disgrace Monmouth. Hence the extinction of the claims of Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, against the Massachusetts Colony

[1] See Gov. Leverett's Letter to Major Thompson, in Hutchinson's Collections, p. 467.

[2] Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 245.

[3] Chalmers's Political Annals, p. 484.

[4] See the King's Letter in Hutchinson's Collections, p. 521, and the Reply in Col. Rec., v. 288.

was not disturbed; and that absurd and mendacious person disappeared from the stage of history. His book, however, remained, to be an enigma to bibliographers and antiquaries.

Sketch of the Life of Edward Johnson.[1]

CAPTAIN EDWARD JOHNSON was born in 1599.[2] Before emigrating to New-England, he resided in the Parish of Herne[3] Hill, near Canterbury, County of Kent, England. In

[1] The following notices of Captain Johnson have appeared in print: —

Rev. Joseph Chickering, in a Discourse preached at the dedication of the meeting-house in Woburn, June 28. 1809, and printed the same year, gave a brief sketch of "the Father of the town," a page of which was reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, xii. 95.

Mr. John Farmer published a notice of half a column in the *Columbian Centinel* of June 16, 1819, which he subsequently inserted, with a few alterations, in Farmer and Moore's New-Hampshire Collections (i. 252), where it occupies a little more than three pages.

Mr. Farmer fell into the strange mistake of confounding Captain Johnson with Isaac Johnson, and made the former one of the founders of the church in Charlestown in 1632. Captain Johnson was not in New-England at that time. Neither of the above writers were aware that he returned to England soon after he came over with Winthrop's company, and was absent nearly five years.

Allen's American Biographical Dictionary of 1809 gave him seven lines. The third edition, 1857, gave him nearly half a page.

Eliot's Biographical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New-England, 1809. made no mention of him; but, by way of compensation, gave more than a page of eulogy to the person who stole his *Wonder-working Providence.*

Mr. Savage has a brief biographical note on Johnson, in Winthrop, i. 84, containing but few facts not given by Chickering and Farmer, and those few marred by several errors.

[2] In two instances he gave his age in testimony in court. In the Middlesex Court Files it appears that June 21, 1664, he was "about 64;" and again, August 8, 1668, he was 69. His wife on these occasions gave her age as "about 66" and "about 71."

[3] The orthography of this name is various. Johnson, in his Will, wrote it *Herrn* and *Heron*. Other writers made it *Heirn*, *Heirne*, and *Herne*. The Parish is six miles west of north from Canterbury. That John

England he was possessed of a comfortable estate, consisting of a farm and two other pieces of property, which he held during his lifetime, and in his Will bequeathed them to six of his grandchildren.[1]

The honorable title of "Mr.," prefixed to his name in the earliest records of the colony,[2] shows that he was then considered a person of property[3] and influence. A curious instance of the

son lived at or near a cathedral town might be inferred from his knowledge of the various officials connected with the full cathedral service. See his enumeration of them on page 24.

The designation *Herne Hill* was probably used to distinguish the parish now called Herne from Herne Bay, which is a thriving watering-place on the shore of the German Ocean, a mile and three-quarters north of the village. The "British Gazetteer" says: —

"The village is distinguished by most "of the characteristics of rustic beauty, "quietude and repose. The church, which "stands at the southern extremity of the "place, is a very ancient structure, spacious "and handsome, having a nave, side aisles, "three chapels, and six stalls, with a re-"markably imposing screen. In the inte-"rior there are general escutcheons of arms, "several old monumental records, a number "of those delights of the antiquary, memo-"rial brasses, and an antique font. Ridley, "Bishop of London, who was burned at "Oxford in 1555, was collated with this "living in 1538 by Archbishop Cranmer."

[1] His Will, from the Middlesex Records, is printed entire at the end of this sketch.

[2] Col. Rec. i. 79, 366.

[3] Mr. Chickering (p. 25) says, "It ap-"pears that Capt. Johnson was not rich, "as in the town [of Woburn] tax made "just before his death, his part was less "than the average part of all the inhabi-"tants."

This is not a correct statement. Through the kindness of Mr. Nathan Wyman, the present Town Clerk of Woburn, I have had an opportunity of examining the Woburn Records. There are but three lists of taxes there recorded previous to Captain Johnson's death; namely, in 1645, in 1646, and in 1666. In the first list, forty-five persons were taxed, and Capt. Johnson's rate was the highest except one. In the second, forty-six persons were taxed, and three rates only exceeded his. In the third, seventy-eight persons were taxed, and nineteen rates only exceeded his. In his Will, he speaks of having "disposed [of land] in my lifetime "to my sons." This probably took place before the tax-list of 1666 was made, and the land was taxed in their names. Mr. Chickering had not seen his Will; and, knowing that he had devoted thirty years of his life to public service, in positions that afforded little or no pecuniary recompense, inferred that he was a poor man.

Before he made the settlement of Woburn, he was the proprietor of considerable land in Charlestown. He owned a large tract on "Mystic side" (now Malden); and he held five shares in the "Stinted Common" (now Somerville), where the Charlestown landholders pastured their milch cows and working cattle. The largest number of rights any one had was ten and three-fourths; and

importance our fathers attached to the prefix of "Mr." is found in the Massachusetts Records for September, 1631.

"It is ordered, that Josias Plastowe shall (for stealeing 4 basketts of corne "from the Indians) returne them 8 basketts again, be fined V l, & hereafter to "be called by the name of Josias, & not Mr, as formerly hee vsed to be, & that "Willm Buckland & Tho. Andrewe shalbe whipped for being accessary to the "same offence." (Col. Rec. i. 92.)

With regard to his occupation in England, he made the statement to the agents of the "Commission for Regulating Foreign "Plantations," when he embarked from England with his family in 1636, that he was a "joiner."[1]

The first impression is that this statement was an evasion. The English hierarchy had become alarmed at the immense number of emigrants who were coming to Massachusetts Bay, and especially at the superior quality of the persons emigrating, and their acts of nonconformity when they arrived. This Commission, at the head of which was Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been appointed two years before,[2] and proved an annoyance rather than an absolute hinderance to emigration. Ships ready to sail were repeatedly detained, and individuals were prevented for a time from leaving England; but in the end they generally contrived to escape.[3] In 1638 twenty vessels arrived at Boston with three thousand passengers. No one above the rank of mechanic or serving-man was allowed to depart without special leave of the commission. Some of the best of our New-England fathers evaded these arbitrary regulations, by suppressing or misstating

the smallest, half a right. (Frothingham's History of Charlestown, p. 66.) Mr. Frothingham informs me that few persons had more than one or two rights. From these facts, taken in connection with his property in England, I infer that he was in easy circumstances, and was thus enabled to devote himself almost exclusively to public matters.

[1] Mass. Hist. Coll. xxviii. p. 276.

[2] The commission, dated April 24, 1634 is in Hutchinson's Mass. i. App. No. iv.

[3] Bancroft, Hist. of United States, i. 40, N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. viii. 138.

their real occupation and social condition. Mr. Thomas Shepard, the first minister of Cambridge, embarked under the assumed name of his brother, as "John Shepard, husbandman."[1] His brother Samuel assumed to be the servant of Mr. Roger Harlakenden.[2] Captain Johnson's frequent and pungent allusions to the English hierarchy and to the Archbishop of Canterbury in particular, indicate that his respect and affection for those ecclesiastical potentates were not of so exalted a nature that he would covet their examination into his personal concerns, if an evasion could save him from the ordeal. After his arrival in New-England, it is clear that he did not engage in "joining" or any other mechanical occupation.

It is probable, however, that the occupation he gave to the commissioners, if an evasion, was not a misstatement. From the fact that several of his sons and grandsons were shipwrights and carpenters,[3] I am inclined to the opinion that, at some time in his life, he had been a shipbuilder. This occupation he could have carried on at Herne Bay. From his landed estates in England, it is evident that at the time of his emigration he was a thrifty farmer. It will appear also, as we proceed, that he was a trader,[4] and was imbued with a keen relish for adventure.

Captain Johnson had evidently in England given considerable

[1] Mass. Hist. Coll. xxviii. 268. Young's Chron. of Mass. p. 260.

[2] Idem. 268; Young, 544.

[3] His eldest son Edward describes himself in his will as "of Charlestown, shipwright." His youngest son, Matthew, was doubtless a carpenter, as the Woburn Records contain two accounts of his, for carpenter's work upon the meeting-house and the parsonage. His fourth son, John, was a millwright. His third son, Major William, appears in early life to have followed the family occupation. In a deed recorded in Middlesex Registry in 1652 (iii. 18), he is described as shipwright; and in another deed (iv. 312), he is described as carpenter. Major William's son William was also a shipwright at Charlestown. For several of these items, I am indebted to Rev. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, Mass., who has in preparation a history of the town of Woburn.

[4] No New-England writer was so observant as he of the business features and expenses of the enterprise, or recorded so many of these statistics.

attention to military matters, and there acquired the rank by which he has since been known. If he had not emigrated to New-England, he would doubtless have been one of Oliver's sturdy fighting-men, and perhaps an officer of note. Soon after his second arrival, we find his name in the Charlestown Records with the prefix of *Captain*, a title of honor which in those days was not given at random. He gathered and drilled a squad of militia at Woburn, soon after its settlement; and he always held a command in the militia of the Colony. His name scarcely ever appears in the Massachusetts Records without his military title. When, in 1643, he became a Deputy to the General Court, he was placed on nearly every military committee; and he was often sent out on expeditions to treat with or overawe the Indians, and to deal with troublesome neighbors. His expedition to arrest Gorton was made on the September following his election to the General Court.

On military committees, he was intrusted with the most extraordinary powers, which indicate the confidence reposed in his judgment in these matters. One of those committees was authorized[1] to inspect all fortifications; to levy fines on towns for neglecting to complete their works; to collect arrearages, fines, and penalties of the inhabitants by distress or otherwise; to draw on the Treasurer of the Colony for as much money as will fully answer the committee's demands, whose receipt was the Treasurer's discharge for so much. Such powers as these were not a temporary expedient, but were continued in his hands, and those of his associates, from year to year. That he did not attain to high military rank in the Colony was doubtless owing to that singular modesty of his which is apparent in all he undertook.

Captain Johnson, early in April, 1630, without his family, embarked at Southampton for New-England, in one of the vessels

[1] Col. Rec. ii. 197-8.

of the fleet which brought Governor Winthrop and his company to Massachusetts Bay. The "Eagle," afterwards called the "Arbella," is the only ship he mentions by name, and this he mentions four times. The "Arbella" was the flag-ship, or "admiral," as Winthrop calls it, and conveyed the Governor, the members of his suit, and other prominent persons. Winthrop (p. 6) and Johnson (p. 30) describe in similar terms the excitement on board ship at meeting, and the preparations made to fight, what was supposed to be several Dunkirk men-of-war, but which, on coming into close quarters, proved to be friendly merchant vessels. It is probable that Johnson came in the "Arbella."

Several very plausible objections may be urged against the statement that Captain Johnson came over with Winthrop's company in 1630, — such as the following: How can it be reconciled, that, coming over in 1630, he connected himself with no church in the colony; obtained no residence; and took no part in the political or ecclesiastical movements of the day, of which the fullest details have been preserved? He was a man of marked ability, of considerable property, of deep religious character, a Puritan of the Puritans, and one who took a leading position wherever he was. It will not be questioned but that he came over with his family in 1636, and settled in Charlestown. From that moment to the day of his death, we never lose sight of him. The Records of Charlestown, of Woburn, and of the Colony are filled with his name and his deeds. How is it that we know so little of him before 1636, and so much of him after that date? Mr. Farmer[1] says, "In 1630 he came to Charlestown, "where he resided about ten years." There is no evidence that he came to Charlestown in 1630 and took up his residence; and, as to the rest of the statement, Mr. Farmer was certainly in error. Mr. Savage supposes that he came over in 1630 to look up a

[1] New-Hamp. Hist. Coll. i. 252.

place for a permanent settlement, with the intention of returning to England for his family. This might partially account for his not connecting himself with any church, and for his not taking a leading part in political and religious matters. But the difficulty still remains. It does not appear that he took any land at Charlestown, or elsewhere, or selected a place of residence. We do not know when he returned to England. But on the supposition that he did select a place of residence, and prepare a home for his family, and soon return to England, how are we to account for his long years of absence? A man of his irrepressible activity and stern principles could not have been idle during those five years. He could have served the Colony in Old England perhaps better than in the New, by acting as agent in promoting emigration, by imparting information, and allaying existing prejudice against the Colony, or in purchasing and forwarding merchandise. If he had performed any of these acts, his name would have appeared in the narratives and correspondence of that period. I have made a careful search, and find no trace of him in those papers.

Captain Johnson in his book nowhere states that he came over in 1630. On p. 34, under date of 1630, he says, "This Author "came in a foggy morning," &c. It must be remembered, however, that he wrote some twenty years later than 1630, and that the dates in the headings cannot be relied upon as the time when the events described took place. Besides, he is speaking here of what he had more fully narrated on p. 31, the number of vessels which had arrived in New-England from 1628 to 1643. May not, then, the author have alluded to his arrival in 1636?

Is it quite certain that the person who expressed, October 19, 1630, a wish to be made freeman,[1] and was made freeman May 31, 1631,[2] was the author of *Wonder-working Providence?* Four

[1] Col. Rec. i. 79. [2] Idem. i. 366.

persons of this name appear to be mentioned in the Colonial Records, as follows:—

1. Edward Johnson, admitted as above.

2. Edward Johnson, who (if the following record is correct) was deceased July 1, 1634.

"Willm Almy is fyned x^s for not appeareing att the laſt Court, being ſumond, "& is inioyned to bring to the nexte Court an inventory of the goods hee receaved "of Edw: Johnſons [eſtate], duely prized by indifferent men." (Col. Rec. i. 122.)

3. Edward Johnson, admitted freeman May 2, 1638. (Idem. i. 374.)

4. Edward Johnson, admitted freeman November 22, 1652. (Idem. iv. Pt. 1, 129.)

I think there can be no doubt that the person first on the list was the subject of this sketch. The other persons named we are able to identify. The second Edward Johnson was not deceased in 1634, as the record would seem to imply, and as the index-maker expressly asserts. He was alive at that time, and lived many years later. He was the same person who was admitted freeman in 1631. The mistake has arisen from the interpolation into the printed record of a final *s* to the name, which is not in the original manuscript.[1]

[1] For some months this intrusive letter gave me a deal of trouble. From evidence that will hereafter appear, I was convinced that the person referred to was our author, who was at that time in England; and that, when in New-England on his first visit, he had committed to William Almy certain property which had not been accounted for. If this point could be made to appear, it would furnish strong corroborating testimony as to the object for which he first came to America, the business in which he was engaged, and the reason of our knowing so little of his first visit. As the record stood, it was a reference to one deceased. On inquiring of several of my friends more skilled than myself in the early records, whether the passage would not admit of my interpretation, the most encouraging reply I could get was, "It is possible, but not probable." All that was needed to sustain my theory was to dispose of the final *s*. A

The third Edward Johnson was the eldest son of the first Edward.[1] The fourth Edward Johnson never resided in the Massachusetts Colony proper. He was admitted at Kittery, and was a resident of York. He was made a justice of the peace, in the Gorges interest, in 1665, by Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick, the King's Commissioners.[2]

The minute and pathetic description Captain Johnson gives (pp. 25, 26, 27) of the parting of relatives at Southampton, indicates that he was a party in that leave-taking. What he says of "Husbands and Wives with mutuall consent are now purposed "to part for a time 900 Leagues asunder, since some providence "at present will not suffer them to goe together," was his own case. He embarked on his second voyage from Sandwich.

collation of the printed text with the original record was the next step. This comparison, made several times before in other difficult passages, had served to heighten my admiration of the extreme accuracy of the printed records.

I called at the Office of the Secretary of State, and to my friend, Mr. David Pulsifer, who copied the original records for the press, stated my case; and asked if he could aid me in disposing of that annoying letter. He kindly offered his services, and brought out the original record. We found no *s* there. One had been inserted, but it was stricken out at the time of the original entry; for the ink was of a very peculiar color, and the erasure was of precisely the color and tone of the entry. Mr. Pulsifer, somewhat disturbed at this discovery, said, "Is it possible that *I* put in that *s*?" The manuscript, from which the text was set up, was in his possession. It was brought out, and there was no *s* in the copy. I mention these circumstances only as a curious illustration of the fact, so much lamented by authors and editors, that no care nor diligence in proof-reading can provide against errors in the best-regulated printing-office.

[1] It may seem strange that a person born in 1599 could have had a son old enough in 1638 to be made freeman. The original practice in the Colony was not to admit persons as freemen under the age of twenty-one years. On the 4th of March, 1634-5, the rule was modified, as follows:—

"It is ordered, that the ffreemens oath "shalbe gyven to euy man of or above the "age of 16 yeares, the clause for eleccon of "magistrates onely excepted." (Col. Rec. i. 139.)

Captain Johnson was therefore probably married when he was about twenty-one years of age.

[2] Williamson's Maine, i. 416. An incident is related of this person in Winthrop ii. 210, which shows that he was a low and worthless character; and that Roger Garde, the tailor Mayor of Gorges's city of Gorgeana, was a person equally depraved.

There is positive evidence that Captain Johnson was in New-England before August 3, 1632. This appears from a record made at that time by Governor Winthrop (i. 84). It seems that a misunderstanding, if not a quarrel, had arisen between the Governor and his Deputy, Mr. Thomas Dudley, in which the Deputy propounded to the Governor seven interrogatories. The third, with the Governor's reply, is as follows: "By what authority "he had licenſed Edward Johnſon to ſit down at Merrimacke. — "Governour anſwered, that he had licenſed him only to go forth "on trading (as he had done divers others) as belonging to his "place."[1]

This incident is important evidence as to the occupation of the author of *Wonder-working Providence* during his first visit to New-England, and as to the motive for which he came.

The expression, "to ſit down at Merrimacke," does not imply that Johnson had made a settlement; for, in the Colony, there was no place of that name, and there were then no settlements on the Merrimack River. The Governor quietly disposes of the complaint of his testy Deputy, by saying that he had given Johnson no license to "ſit down" or make a settlement, but "only to go forth on *trading*."

[1] Mr. Savage, in a note on this passage, says, "This person I presume to be . . . the "enthusiastic historian of *Wonder-working* "*Providence*;" and he gives some biographical items respecting him, in which are several mistakes.

Capt. Johnson was not one *year* Speaker of the House of Deputies, but one *week*. (Col. Rec. iii. 373.)

The person whom Johnson alludes to (p. 165), as employed at Mevis, one of the Summer Islands, was not his son; but was Mr. Nathaniel White, who graduated at Harvard College in 1646. (See W. W. P., p. 229.)

The Robert Johnson who graduated at Harvard College in 1645 was not Edward Johnson's son.

He had no son Robert.

None of his sons graduated at Harvard College.

These errors Mr. Savage copied from Mr. Farmer, and they are repeated in his latest edition. Mr. Savage, in many places, speaks in severe terms of the inaccuracies of Johnson's book. It has many errors; but I know no five lines in Johnson which contain more errors than there are in five lines of Mr. Savage's note.

That Captain Johnson was familiar with the Merrimack River is evident from his many descriptive allusions thereto. He never speaks of it (as of the Connecticut River, which he had not seen) simply by name, but uniformly with some epithet of magnitude, beauty, or grandeur. On p. 13, it is "the "pleasant River of Merimech;" on pp. 68, 69, "the wide venting "streames of Merrimeck River, whose strong current is such, that "it hath forced its passage through the mighty Rocks, which "causeth some sudden falls[1] and hinders Shipping from having "any accesse far into the Land, her bankes are in many places "stored with Oken Timber of all sorts, of which, that which is "commonly call'd white Oke is not inferior to our English Tim-"ber." On p. 134, it is "the famous River of Merimeck;" on p. 135, "the broade swift torrent of Merrimeck, a very goodly "River to behold, were it not blockt up with some suddaine falls "through the rocks." On p. 197, it is "the fair and large river "of Merrimeck;" and, on p. 210, "the goodly river of Merri-"meck."[2]

Johnson had seen no larger or more picturesque river than the sluggish Thames. Coming upon one like the Merrimack in the midst of an unbroken forest, it is natural that he should have been deeply impressed with its grandeur and beauty; and that this impression should have remained on his mind long afterwards when he wrote his book. He seems to have extended his trad-

[1] He visited, it seems, the present site of Lawrence, and perhaps of Lowell.

[2] In May, 1657 (Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 1, 291), Capt. Johnson was appointed one of a committee with full powers to superintend the fur-trade with the Indians. This committee proceeded to farm out to "able and honest "persons" the various localities where this trade was carried on. The trade on the Merrimack brought the highest price, £25; that of Springfield and Norwottocke, the next highest, £20. Cambridge and Sudbury were the lowest in the list, each bringing but £1. The trade was to commence July 1, 1657, and "to pay in beaver." (Idem, p. 354.)

Capt. Johnson seems, therefore, to have fallen upon the best Indian trading-ground in the Colony; or his knowledge of the locality enabled him to obtain the highest price for the same.

ing expeditions as far north as the Piscataqua; and, in his travels, to have looked upon objects with the practised eye of a business man. Of the Piscataqua, he says (p. 170), "Although it be not "nigh so broad as *Merrinacck* [*sic*] river, yet it is navigable, "being very deep, and her banks in many places fil'd with stately "timber, which hath caused one or two Saw-Mills to be continued; "there they have a good quantity of Meddow Land, and good "ground for India corn."[1]

It is hardly necessary to produce other evidence to show that our author was in New-England before he came with his family. This point admitted, there is no question that he came over with Winthrop, and was the person admitted freeman in 1631.

We are now prepared to inquire why, from him and from contemporary writers, so little is known of his first visit; why a person of his ability and active temperament, who was in New-England in 1630 and part of 1631, took so little part in the affairs of the Colony; why we are not able to determine with accuracy when he returned; and why he remained abroad some five years without leaving traces of himself in the voluminous records and narratives of that period.

In answering these inquiries, it is not possible to state, without being tedious, all the reasons on which the views to be presented are founded. They have not been reached, however, without study and mature deliberation.

Captain Johnson, when he came over in 1630, was, I believe,

[1] Settlements were commenced on this river about the year 1623.

Johnson visited these localities subsequently; but I think the minute descriptions he gives of them are his early impressions. In later years, he visited the Providence Plantation, but not as a trader; and he gave no account of what he saw. If he ever visited the Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut Colonies, or the Massachusetts settlements as far west as the Connecticut River, there is no evidence of the fact in his book, nor do I find any elsewhere.

not influenced by the religious sentiments of Winthrop's company, and probably did not claim to be a religious man. He came for trade and adventure. Having no concern in the civil and ecclesiastical questions of the Colony, his name nowhere appears at this period of its history. Hence he connected himself with no church. He took no land, for he did not intend to remain. He came; and, having traded for a while among the Indians, and gratified his taste for adventure, he departed. When he left, was a fact of little importance to himself, and of none to the Colony: hence there is no record of it.

The impelling motive which led to the settlement of the Massachusetts Bay, as of the Plymouth, Colony, was a religious one; but it was prudently kept in abeyance till the fleet had arrived in New-England. The development of a continent supposed to possess every species of mineral and vegetable wealth, and the planting there of English institutions and English power, were motives so grand and so captivating to the Anglo-Saxon mind, that many persons embarked in the enterprise who had no sympathy with the religious opinions of the prime movers. Young men of property, who were fond of adventure, must have felt a strong impulse to see a country of which they had heard strange stories. The idea of obtaining the peltry of beaver and otter from the Indians, in exchange for inexpensive baubles, attached trading adventurers to the company. Persons went with the Colony who were not of it. They had no part in its policy, and no place in its history. Captain Johnson brings out this very plainly on p. 19, where he speaks of "Mar-"chant Adventurers."—"Amongſt whom came over a mixt "multitude, inſomuch that very little appeared [of them] in the "following worke." If Johnson had not come over a second time, we could not have identified him in that "mixt multitude" whose names and deeds have passed into oblivion.

In saying that in 1630 he was probably not a religious man, I speak as he himself, in later years, would have spoken, comparing his religious life with what it was subsequently. He doubtless repeated the Apostles' Creed, and declared himself a "miserable sinner" at morning service in that fine old church at Herne Hill already described (p. lvii.); and, at that time, he might have been shocked at the intimation that he was not a religious man.

But did not his expressing in October, 1630, a desire to become a freeman, and his actually taking the oath the following May, indicate a sympathy, at least, with the religious sentiments of the Colony, and a purpose of taking up a permanent settlement? I think not. No religious test was required of the first list of persons admitted in May, 1631.[1] No freemen, however, were subsequently admitted except such as were church members. If action on his name had been postponed to the next meeting of the Court, he probably would not have been admitted.[2] There was no expense or inconvenience in becoming a freeman; and there were advantages, of which he subsequently availed himself in his business relations.

I infer, therefore, that Captain Johnson came over, in 1630, for

[1] See W. W. P., p. 39.

[2] The policy of excluding persons who were not church-members from exercising a political franchise in the government was adopted the same session (May 18, 1631) at which he was made freeman. The order is as follows: "That for time to come noe "man shalbe admitted to the freedome of "this body polliticke, but such as are mem-"bers of some of the churches within the "lymitts of the same." (Col. Rec. i. 87.)

No law of the Colony was more severely assailed than this for the next third of a century by malcontents here and in England; yet it was not rescinded nor qualified till August, 1664.

On the list of 109 persons desiring admission, Johnson's name stands second; on the list of 116 persons admitted, his name is nearly at the foot, the 110th. This may have occurred by accident; or it may indicate that there was a question raised as to the admission of some persons on the list; which, after the main body had been admitted, was settled (as such matters usually are) by a compromise, — admitting the person or persons objected to, and making a rule that no more of that class should come in.

traffic and adventure. We find him trading on the Merrimack River soon after his arrival. He then disappears, probably returning to England in the Summer of 1631, and leaving a remainder of his goods unsold, or some of the property he had exchanged for them, in the hands of one William Almy. Almy seems not to have made returns for this property, and probably did not respond to the owner's letters respecting it. Availing himself of his citizenship, Johnson brings the delinquency of his correspondent to the attention of the Court. Almy is summoned into Court; but, neglecting to appear, he is fined ten shillings, and enjoined to appear at the next Court with an inventory of goods which he had received of Edward Johnson.[1]

The grounds for the opinion expressed, that he embarked for England in the summer of 1631, probably in season to escape the Atlantic storms of early winter, are, that such omissions and inaccuracies occur in his narrative, from that time till his return in 1636, as might be expected from one who was not personally cognizant of what he narrated. For instance, he describes, on p. 50, under the date of 1632, a night skirmish with a party of Tarrentine Indians landing at Lynn, and the hair-breadth escape of Lieutenant Walker. It reads like a wild Indian-story, which has in it more of romance than of fact. None of the other early New-England writers mention the affair. If it actually occurred, it was only a reconnoissance. The real attack of those wild Eastern warriors was on an Indian settlement at Agawam (Ipswich), where they killed seven men, wounded John and James Sagamore, and carried away some captives. Winthrop (i. 59) fixes the date of the Ipswich attack as August 8, 1631. The Lynn affair (if it occurred at all) must have taken place at this time; for there is no account that the Tarrentines were on the coast

[1] The matter was doubtless amicably arranged; for, on the 6th of September, 1638, four years after the incident occurred, Almy's fine was remitted. (Col. Rec. i. 244.)

the next year. There is a strong presumption, in his not mentioning the Ipswich attack, that he had left the country before it occurred.[1]

His account (on p. 63) of the adventure of Governor Winthrop and party, on an island in Boston Harbor, where they were detained by a storm, contains many inaccuracies which can be explained on no other hypothesis than that he was absent from the country at the time. He says: —

"In the vernall of the yeare 1634. this people being increased . . . they "begun to thinke of fortifying a ſmall Iſland about two miles from Boston to "Sea-ward, [Castle Island, now occupied by Fort Independence] to which all "the Veſſels come in usually and paſſe. To this end the honoured Mr *John* "*Winthrope* with ſome 8. or 10. perſons of note, tooke boate and arrived on "the ſaid Iſland in a warme Sun ſhineday, just at the breaking up of Winter as "they deemed, but being they were ſudden ſurpriſed with a cold North-weſt "ſtorme (which is the ſharpeſt winde in this Country) freezing very vehemently "for a day and a night, that they could not get off the Iſland, but were forced to "lodge there, and lie in a heape one upon another (on the ground) to keep "themſelves from freezing."

The Governor's adventure occurred, not "in the vernall of the "yeare 1634," but in February, 1632.[2] The party consisted of twenty-six persons in all. The spot they visited was not Castle Island, but Nataskott [Nantasket], not far from the present site

[1] Johnson knew the friendly chiefs who were wounded at Ipswich, and had doubtless availed himself of their services in his trading expeditions on the Merrimack. On p. 51 he speaks of John Sagamore "being "always very courteous." He describes his last sickness, the disposition he made of his children, and his death (both chiefs died of small-pox, Dec. 5, 1633), with so many variations from Winthrop's account (i. 119), that he probably received the narrative at second hand, several years after the events happened.

[2] See Winthrop's own account in his Journal. (i. 99.)

Mr. Savage, in his note on the passage, again takes the occasion to sneer at the inaccuracies of Johnson, who, he says, "shows "little precision in any thing but his creed." Mr. Savage did not duly consider that Johnson was absent from the country when the incident occurred.

of Fort Warren. They were kept there two nights "upon the "ground in an open cottage." Winthrop says, "Upon view of "the place, it was agreed by all, that to build a fort there would "be of too great charge and of little use;" for the place was nearly nine miles from Boston. Attention was afterwards directed to the fortification of Castle Island.

Johnson very naturally fell into these mistakes. He had gone back to England in the Summer of 1631. When he returned five years later, the only fortification in the harbor was on Castle Island. He was subsequently one of the Committee having this Fort in charge. When he informed himself of its history, he learned that the subscription for it was raised,[1] and the work commenced, in the Spring of 1634. Hearing the story of Winthrop's adventure, he inferred that it occurred in "the vernall of "1634," at Castle Island.

The barrenness of personal incident in his narrative from 1632 to 1635, both inclusive, is noticeable. This narrative comprises thirty pages. Eight of these are verses. About the same number are devoted to biographical notices of persons with whom he associated after he returned. The remainder is taken up chiefly with descriptions of towns, not as they were at the dates in the heading of the pages, but as they were some fifteen years later, when he wrote the book. One chapter (xxix. on p. 64) is exclusively on English matters; being an account of what happened to Mr. John Norton and Mr. Thomas Shepard in Yarmouth, Eng., in 1634-5. On p. 74, he describes Mr. John Wilson's trials on his third voyage to England in 1635. The few personal incidents, during these five years, which he undertakes to relate, contain errors such as have been described. He hesitates, under these dates, to discuss important topics. On p. 53 (1632), "their Government is "by the Author deferred till the year 1637. where the Reader

[1] Col. Rec. i. 113.

"may behold Government both in Churches and Common-wealth." His narrative for the first two years after he returned (1636–7) fills sixty pages.

Of his life during these years of absence, there is no direct testimony. We know that he returned with his family, in 1636, a zealous Puritan, and in full sympathy with the religious system of the Massachusetts Colony. His ruling motive was no longer in business or pleasure, but in building up a Puritan Common-wealth in this Western World. It is not difficult for the reader to fill out, from the broken incidents and separated fragments which surround it, this hiatus in his personal history.

Having been welcomed by his family and his neighbors at Herne Hill, and, with his craving for adventure fully satiated, he probably returned to the duties of his farm and his merchandise; hardly imagining that he would one day, with his family, join that Colony of self-sacrificing religionists in New-England. As, on the Christmas eve of 1631, he gathered his young family about him before his blazing hearth in dear old England, his mind might have reverted to the Christmas eve of 1630, which he had spent in an Indian wigwam, shivering with cold, or drenched with rain. He might have related to that inquisitive and sympathizing circle, how he had seen, the previous winter, women and little children pinched with cold and hunger; how he had himself eaten "parch't Indian corn incht out with Cheſtnuts and bitter Acorns" (p. 173); how "the Women once a day, as the tide gave way, "reſorted to the Muſſells, and Clambankes, where they daily "gathered their Families food;" how one man "travailed as far "as Plimoth (which is neere 40 miles) and with great toile "brought a little Corne home with him" (p. 49). Is it strange that we should know nothing of Edward Johnson for the next five years? What would his wife and children have thought, if he had then expressed an intention of taking them to New-England?

Before resolving on this step, a radical change must have taken place in his character and opinions.

Events soon occurred in England which were calculated to produce such a change. Puritanism, as a political power, was the offspring of persecution. When Robinson and his company of Pilgrims took refuge in Holland from the persecution of James I., Edward Johnson was not old enough for these events to make any impression on his mind. After he grew up to manhood, though the principle of religious oppression had not been abanboned, dissenters were allowed comparative toleration. The early years of the reign of Charles I. were marked with moderation towards the despised nonconformists. Winthrop's company embarked at Southampton for Massachusetts Bay, in 1630, with as little interference, on the part of the civil authorities, as a passenger would meet to-day on going aboard a Cunard steamer at Liverpool. This state of quietude passed away during the five years Johnson was absent from New-England. Reports that alarmed the High-church party came back from America. Episcopacy had been suppressed at Salem by Governor Endicott; all the churches gathered at the Bay were nonconformist; the prayer-book and the church ritual were not tolerated; marriages were celebrated by magistrates, and not by the clergy; and no deference was paid to the ecclesiastical laws and usages of England. The malcontents sent back to England poured their complaints into the willing ears of the hierarchy. Gorges and Mason, jealous of the growth of the Massachusetts Colony, and chagrined that their colonies received no accessions, re-echoed these complaints. The fact most alarming to Laud was the quality and extent of the emigration to New-England. The best and most enterprising men were leaving England, and in such numbers as justly to awaken solicitude, — three thousand souls in a single year. Ministers suspected of nonconformity were again deprived of their

livings, insulted, and driven from place to place. Preaching in secluded spots, as occasions presented, they gathered a harvest of converts to those free principles which were soon to overturn the Stuart dynasty, and to establish a Puritan Commonwealth in England.

Captain Johnson, then in England, could not have been an uninterested spectator of these events, even if he had no religious sympathy with the persecuted dissenters. The fact that he had been in New-England, and had made himself familiar with its physical features and natural resources, must have brought him in contact with some of the eminent nonconforming clergymen who were intending to remove to America. They would seek his acquaintance for the information he had to impart. The whole dissenting mind of England turned towards America, and was athirst for knowledge respecting the country. "A letter "from New-England was venerated 'as a facred ſcript, or as the "'writing of some holy prophets, and was carried many miles, "'where divers came to hear it.'"[1] From contact with these eminent and devoted men, he doubtless imbibed their religious opinions, and became a convert to the faith of the Puritans.[2]

[1] Bancroft, i. 382, quoting Old Planters' Narrative, 17.

[2] From the manner in which he speaks, in several instances, of Mr. Thomas Shepard, it seems probable that Johnson knew him in England, and may have regarded him as instrumental in his own conversion. He is "that gratious ſweete Heavenly minded, "and ſoule-raviſhing Miniſter," . . . "a man "of a thouſand, indued with abundance of "true ſaving knowledge for himſelf and "others" (p. 77). Of him "it may be ſaid, "without any wrong to others, the Lord by "his miniſtery hath ſaved many a hundred "ſoul" (p. 164). "Thouſands of ſouls have "cauſe to bleſs God for him, even at this "very day, who are the Seale of his Min-"iſtery" (p. 77). Of no other minister does he speak in such strong and affectionate terms.

Mr. Shepard arrived in Boston Oct. 3, 1635. That they knew each other in England is probable, also, from the account Johnson gives, on p. 64, of the attempts to arrest Shepard and Norton before they took passage for New-England. The first act that Johnson records of himself, after arriving in New-England, was visiting Cambridge to hear Mr. Shepard preach; and the melting emotions he experienced during the sermon (so pathetically described on page 103) indicate that his own feelings towards the

Mr. Savage, when in England in 1842, found, in the London Institution, the "History of Sandwich," by William Boys, printed at Canterbury in 1792. In this work, under the date of 1636, is "A true roll or list of names, surnames and qualities of "all such persons who had taken passage from the town and port "of Sandwich for the American Plantations since the last cer-"tificate of such passengers returned to the office of Dover "Castle."[1] In this list is —

"Edward Johnson, of Canterbury, joiner, and Susan, his wife, seven chil-"dren, three servants."

That this person was the subject of our sketch there can be no doubt; for his Will and other records show that the Christian name of his wife was Susan (sometimes written Susannah), and that he had seven children.[2]

Sandwich was to Herne Hill the nearest seaport at which there was foreign trade. He gave his residence as Canterbury, although he lived six miles from that city. He might have done this for the purpose of evading inquiry; but more likely the custom existed then, as in our day, for travelers to give an adjacent city as their place of residence. The three servants he took with him went probably as laborers, and not as personal servants; for the latter would indicate to the inspectors of emigration that he was a wealthy man. In the list where Captain Johnson's name appears, no person gave an occupation above that of mechanic or yeoman.

He probably embarked from Sandwich in the spring of 1636, and arrived as early as midsummer. The minute account he

preacher had much to do in producing the impression.

[1] Mass. Hist. Coll. xxviii. 275-6.

[2] The Charlestown Records give a List of the inhabitants of the town in January, 1635-6 (Frothingham's History of Charlestown, p. 85). In this List Captain Johnson's name does not appear, but it is found in the Records of the next year.

gives of a visit to Canonicus (pp. 109*, 110*) indicates that he was one of the party. He describes how the old Sachem appeared, what he gave his visitors to eat, how the conference was held, and what was said. This was precisely the kind of expedition suited to his taste; and he never lost an opportunity of indulging in this sort of adventure. Edward Gibbons and John Higginson were the only persons in the party whose names are given. Johnson's experience with the Indians, acquired on his trading expeditions among them, and his military knowledge, would make him an acceptable volunteer. The expedition started on the 8th, and returned on the 13th, of August, 1636.[1] Gibbons and Higginson were paid for their services, October 25, 1636.[2]

Captain Johnson arrived at Boston when the memorable Antinomian controversy was in its most exciting phase. Anne Hutchinson had set the town in uproar by her peculiar views, and she was defended by some of the most eminent persons in the Colony. At the Court of Election, in May, 1636, the young and accomplished Henry Vane had been chosen Governor, to the eminent disgust of the supporters of the staid and judicious Winthrop. Vane supported the views of Mrs. Hutchinson. Her minister (Mr. John Cotton), two of the magistrates (Mr. Dummer and Mr. Coddington), several of the deputies, military men, and leading citizens, took sides with her in this strange controversy. Mr. John Wheelwright, her brother-in law, arrived in June, 1636, and made her cause his own. All the other clergy of New-England, and the churches out of Boston, took the opposite side, and denounced her opinions as heresy. The subtleties of theology

[1] Winthrop, i. 192.

[2] Col. Rec. i. 181. To Gibbons, afterwards Major-General, in command of all the militia of the Colony, Johnson often alludes in friendly terms. Their acquaintance began on this expedition. The date, 1637, in the heading of pages 109*, 110*, is an error.

and metaphysics were on everybody's tongue, and were discussed with an excitement and a personal bitterness that we, at the present day, can hardly appreciate. Johnson devotes a chapter (p. 101) to "the ſorrowfull complaint of a poore Soule at landing" in the midst of this noisy squabble. No wonder that the poor man, in the din of contending voices, was nearly beside himself, and that "hee betooke him to a narrow Indian path for ſerious Medita-"tions, where none but ſenceleſs Trees and eccohing Rocks make "anſwer to his heart-eaſeing mone" (p. 102). He evidently never comprehended the new dispensation; but, understanding well the old landmarks, he opposed the Antinomians with all the energy of his being. Nearly forty pages of his book are devoted to this unintelligible subject, and serve as a curious illustration of the intensity of feeling exhibited in that controversy.

He must have taken up his residence in Charlestown soon after landing. In the chapter just alluded to, where he describes the bewilderment of "a poore ſoule," he speaks of localities which can apply only to Charlestown as the place from which he started. He went out on a narrow Indian path, absorbed in mournful meditations over the mysterious doctrine of a "naked "Chriſt." He then changed his direction, and "turning his face "to the ſun [the south-west, it is a summer afternoon] he ſteered "his courſe toward the next Town, and after ſome ſmall travell "hee came to a large plaine, no ſooner was hee entred thereon, "but hearing the ſound of a Drum (they had as yet no Bell to "call men to meeting) he was directed toward it by a broade "beaten way," and soon arrived at Mr. Shepard's meeting-house in Cambridge. Whoever will take an afternoon drive from Charlestown to Cambridge will recognize the localities here described. He could not have started from Boston; for then there were no bridges over the Charles or the Mystic River.

His name first appears in the Charlestown Records (with the

title of "Captain"), in 1637, as a proprietor of land. His name next appears, in 1638, in the division of land on "Mystic "Side," now Malden; and, except in connection with his property, the division of lands, &c., his name is not found in the Charlestown Records before 1640. He therefore took no active part either in the civil or the ecclesiastical affairs of the town. This fact seems singular, in view of the prominent position he subsequently held, in both these relations, at Woburn. He did not even unite with the church at Charlestown during the six years he resided there. Some personal reasons, which we cannot ascertain, may have prompted this course: but I think, that, from the first, he considered Charlestown only a temporary place of abode; and that he intended to engage in the enterprise of planting a new town. His appointment by the Charlestown Church, as one of the Committee for "the erecting of a church and town" at Woburn, is a full endorsement of his religious standing at that period. While in Charlestown, he resided on "Crooked Lane," now Bow Street.

The General Court, May 13, 1640, on the petition of Charlestown, made a grant for a new town, "two miles on their head "line, provided it fall not within the bounds of Linn Village "[Reading] and that they build within two years."[1] On the 7th of October following, the tract was enlarged to four miles square;[2] and, previous to its incorporation, it was called "Charlestown "Village."

Captain Johnson was the first "Recorder" or Town Clerk of Woburn; and the following extracts[3] from the early records of the town — which are in his own handwriting — show not

[1] Col. Rec. i. 290. [2] Idem, i. 306.

[3] As regards the dates, it will be remembered, that, in old style, the year commenced with the 25th of March. The first date mentioned is therefore not the 14th of March, but the 14th of May, 1640.

only the part which he took in the work, but also the mode in which an early Massachusetts town was settled: —

[EXTRACTS FROM THE TOWN RECORDS OF WOBURN.[1]]

1640. 14 of 3 mo. — A True Relation of the proceedings of Edward Conuars, Edward Johnson, John Mousall, Mr. Thomas Graues, Samuwel Richison, and Thomas Richison, chosen by the church of Charlestown for the erecting of a church and town, which accordingly, by great labor, was by them performed, and now called the Town of Woburne.

In this year 1640, in the 3 mo., news was brought of the conveniency of land now adjoining to Charlestown. Forthwith a petition was framed to the General Court, then holden, for two miles of land square, to be added to the head line of Charlestown, which accordingly was granted, and afterward was increased to four miles square.

15 of 3 mo. — Mr. Increase Nowell [Magistrate], Mr. Zachariah Sims [Minister], Edward Johnson, Edward Conuars, Ezekill Richison, Samuwel Richison, and Robart Halle, together with Mr. Hubard, artist, searched the land lying within the two miles square.

6 of 7 mo. — Noble Captain Sedgwicke,[2] Ensigne Palmer, Thomas Lins,

[1] These extracts, never before printed, are given, with the exception of proper names, in modern orthography and punctuation.

[2] Captain Robert Sedgwick was one of the notable, as well as *noble*, men of his time. "He was," says Johnson (p. 192), "ſtout and active in all feats of war, nurſt "up in Londons Artillery Garden, and fur- "thered with . . . the help of a very good "head-piece." Having filled various civil and military positions, he was elected in May, 1652, Major-General in command of all the militia of the Colony. Soon after, he went to England, and was appointed by Cromwell to the conduct of several important and successful expeditions. He died May 24, 1656, at the West Indies, where he was in command of the English army. Many of his letters to Cromwell are preserved in Thurloe's State Papers (vols. ii., iv., v.). Mr. Frothingham has given an interesting sketch of his life in the History of Charlestown (pp. 135-139).

It is a noticeable coincidence that the two most eminent and active associates of Captain Johnson in the early proceedings for the settlement of the Town of Woburn — General Sedgwick and Rear-Admiral Thomas Graves (see note, p. lxxxiii.) — left the enterprise before its consummation; and, returning to England, were appointed to high military and naval positions in the forces of Cromwell. Perhaps Captain Johnson alludes to them in the following lines of his poetical introduction to the Woburn Records (see note, p. lxxxvi.): —

"One leaves her quite, an other hee doth hie
To foren lands free from the Babys Crye."

Edward Johnson, Edward Conuars, John Mousall, and others, went to view the bounds between Linne Village and this town, like Jacobites, laying them down to rest when night drew on, now preserved by the good hand of God with cheerful spirits, though the heavens poured down rain all night incessantly. One remarkable Providence, never to be forgotten. Some of the company lay under the body of a great tree, it lying some distance from the earth. When the daylight appeared, no sooner was the last man come from under it, but it fell down to their amazement, [they] being forced to dig out their food that was caught under it, it being so ponderous that all the strength they had could not remove it.

30 of 7 mo. — The parties aforesaid met at Linne, and lay there all night. Next day, drew Linne men to the confines of their bounds, endeavoring to point the divisional line between their new town and this.

5 of 9 mo. — The persons above specified, now chosen by the Church of Charlestown, chosen for the carrying-on of the affairs of the new town.

9 of 9 mo. — These persons, associating to them Edward Johnson, who continued with them during the whole work, went to discover the land about Shawshin River; being lost, were forced to lie under the rocks, whilst the rain and snow did bedew their rocky beds.

17 of 9 mo. — A meeting was held to set a division between Charlestown and Woburne, which was in part assented to, but afterward denied.

23 of 9 mo. — The Church of Charlestown meet to consider of those that should go up to this town; and, seeing many appear, fearing the depopulation of Charlestown, from that day forward had a suspicious eye over them.

3 of 10 mo. — Full power was given to Edward Conuars and company to go on with the work.

22 of 10 mo. — Considering the weightiness of the work and the weakness of the persons, this day was set apart for humble seeking of God by prayer and fasting for help in a work of so great consequence, which was performed at the house of John Mousall, by the fore-named persons and their wives, the Lord assisting.

18 of 10 mo. — The first meeting of these persons for this work was at Mr. Thomas Graues, where Town Orders were concluded on for the better carrying-on of the work.

At which meeting Edward Johnson was appointed Recorder, who drew a plot of the town.

TOWN ORDERS.

The free fruition of such liberties and privileges as humanity, civility, and christianity calls for, as due to every man, with his place and proportion, without

impeachment and infringing, which hath ever been, and ever will be, the tranquillity and stability of Christian Commonwealths; and the denial or the deprival thereof, the disturbance, if not the ruin, of both.[1]

We hold it, therefore, our duty and safety, for the better disposing of all lands and benefits of the town of Woburne, and for the preventing of all troublesome complaints, and the maintainance of love and agreement, it is required that all persons admitted to be inhabitants in the said town shall by voluntary agreement subscribe to these orders following; upon which conditions, they are admitted: —

First Order. — For the carrying-on common charges, all such persons as shall be thought meet to have land and admittance for inhabitants shall pay for every acre of land formerly laid out by Charlestown, but now in the limits of Woburne, sixpence; and, for all hereafter laid out, twelvepence.

Second Order. — Every person taking lot or land in the said town shall, within fifteen months after the laying-out of the same, build for dwelling thereon, and improve the said land by planting either in part or in whole; or surrender the same up to the town again. Also, they shall not make sale of it to any person but such as the town shall approve of.

Third Order. — That all manner of persons shall fence their cattle of all sorts, either by fence or keeper; only it is required, all garden-plots and orchards shall be well inclosed, either by pale or otherwise.

Fourth Order. — That no manner of person shall entertain inmate, either married or other, for longer time than three days, without the consent of four of the select men; every person offending in this particular shall pay to the use of the town, for every day they offend therein, sixpence.[2]

Fifth Order. — That no person shall fell or cut any young oak, like to be good timber, under eight inches square, upon forfeiture of five shillings for every such offense.

[1] This Preamble is substantially a copy of the Preamble of "The Liberties of the "Maſſachuſetts Colonie," prepared by Mr. Nathaniel Ward, and adopted in 1641. This point is further noticed on p. ci.

[2] Many cases occur in the records of the enforcement of this order. The following is a specimen: —

"George Polly, warned to appear before "the ſelectmen for entertaining inmates, "came and gave anſwer that he would en-"tertain them, for all the townſmen; and "that the woman ſhould not go out of town "for any of them. The ſelectmen accord-"ingly laid diſtreſs on George Polly's eſtate "to the value of eight ſhillings. Polly com-"ing and acknowledging, and promiſing "to clear the town of the ſaid inmates by "the next ſecond day at night, the Con-"ſtable was ordered to reſpite his diſtreſs; "but in caſe the ſaid Polly did not go on "to perform his promiſe, then to go on "and levy the eight ſhillings for the town's "uſe."

[In margin.] These persons subscribed to these orders: —

Edward Johnſon.	Mr. Thomas graves.	Will Greene.
Edward Conuars.	Nicholas dauis.	Benjamen Butter ffeild.
John mouſall.	Nicholas Treerice.	Henry Jeſts.
Ezekill Richiſon.	John Carter.	Jams Parker.
Samuwell Richiſon.	Jams Conuars.	John Ruſſell.
Thomas Richiſon.	danill Bacon.	Jams Britton.
William Lernedt.	Edward winne.	Thomas ffuller.
Jams Thomſon.	Henry Belden.	Richard Lowden.
John Wright.	ffrances Kendall.	John wyman.
Michall Bacon.	John Teed.	ffrances wyman.[1]
John Seers.	Henry Tottingham.	

4 of 11 mo. — Meeting at Edward Conuars house, where were admitted many persons to set down their dwellings in this town; yet, being shallow in brains, fell off afterwards. At this meeting, Mr. George Bunker[2] surrendered up his lot to the town's disposal, and had recompense.

10 of 12 mo. — The first bridge was laid over Abersonce River, over against Edward Conuars house, and called Could Bridg.

12 of 12 mo. — Meeting at Samuwell Richisons, where Mr. [Jonathan] Burr was thought of meet to help in the main of church work. Mr. [John] Knowls, of the east, was spoken of, and more were admitted to inhabit this town.

8 of 12 mo. — The men appointed for this town affairs traveled to discover a fitting place to lay this town out. After two days' search, it was, by the greater number, thought meet to be laid out on the east end of the land granted to this town, which accordingly was done after two days more.

13 of 12 mo. — Meeting at Ezekill Richisons, where they that at present

[1] Of the thirty-two persons in the above list, ten were then freemen; twelve others were admitted during the next seven years, and ten appear never to have been made freemen. In the first recorded tax-list of Woburn, September, 1645, all the above names appear, except three. Of these, the name of Henry Belden appears in the tax-list of 1646. Another, Mr. Thomas Graves (at whose house the Town Orders were enacted), was, in 1643, master of the "Trial," the first ship built in Boston (Winthrop, ii. 154), and was afterwards one of Cromwell's Rear-Admirals (Frothingham's Charlestown, 139). He followed the sea till his death in 1653, which explains the fact of his not settling in Woburn. The third, Richard Lowden, admitted freemen in 1642, remained in Charlestown, where he died July 12, 1700, at the age of 88.

[2] Bunker Hill took its name from this person, he being its owner.

did intend to dwell in this town, came, and were appointed to meet at the new laid-out town the next third day [Tuesday] following. In the afternoon of the same day, they had a meeting before Mr. [Increase] Nowell, Mr. [Zacariah] Sims, and others, who gave them no small discouragement.

16 of 12 mo. — The persons appointed came to the place, to the number of forty, where the new town should have been placed, marking trees and laying bridges. The way being so plain backward that divers never went forward again.

29 of 12 mo. — Mr. Nowell, Capt. Sedgwick, Lieut. Sprage, and some others, by Charlestown appointed, advised to remove the house-lots and place for the meeting-house to the place where they now stand.

1641. 2 of 1 mo. — Mr. Burr's friends came up to view the plantation; and, the sixth of the first month, lots were first laid out in the place appointed.

17 of 1 mo. — Divers went to Dochester, to Mr. Burr, of whom they received good encouragement to go on. God would provide.

20 of 1 mo. — Mr. Burr's friends came again, and brought men with them to view the land, especially the meadow.

10 of 3 mo. — Meeting at Thomas Richisons. Mr. Burr declined, and most hearts grew faint; notwithstanding, the 13th of the same month more lots were laid out.

24 of 3 mo. — Mr. Burr's friends came again with fresh men, whose minds were much for meadow, and their judgments short in what they saw.

29 of 3 mo. — Mr. Thomas Graues and Edward Johnson were sent to Mr. Burr, who was loth to give a full answer.[1]

25 of 6 mo. — Things going heavily on, and many blocks in the way, especially some of their own company disheartening, this day was set apart for humble seeking the Lord by fasting and prayer, whom they found gracious in keeping up the spirits of some to the work.

26 of 6 mo. — A bridge was made across Hornepond River; though the place was so boggy that it swallowed up much wood before it could be made passable; yet it was finished, and called Longe Bridg.

25 of 8 mo. — Two messengers went to Roully [Rowley] to Mr. [John] Miller, who found Mr. [Ezekiel] Roggers loth to part with him.

3 of 9 mo. — Mr. [Thomas] Carter was spoken to, who was the first named, but the last spoken with, doubting Watertown's parting with him.

[1] Mr. Burr died in two months and ten days from this date. Thomas Hooker said of him, "Surely this man will not be long "out of Heaven, for he preaches as if he "were there already." (Sprague's Annals, i. 124.)

7 of 9 mo. — The Church of Charlestown was spoken unto for their meeting on the Sabbath at this town, having sure encouragement from Mr. Carter to help them the 21st of the same month. Mr. Sims preached his first sermon in this town out of the 4th of Jeremiah and the 3d verse.

4 of 10 mo. — Mr. Carter preached his first sermon at this town out of the 22d of Genesis, encouraging to trust in the Lord for the means.

19 of 10 mo. — They were all at Mr. Carters, who was very backward to promise any thing, but only to be helpful to them at some times, which was very seldom.

1642. 1 of 1 mo. — Minister's house began, with strong resolutions and lively spirits, through the mercy of God, though means very weak. The 25th day of the same, they went to Mr. Carter, who was very shy in promising help constantly.

11 of 2 mo. — Some now sent to Mr. [George] Phillips [of Watertown], who did not much encourage them about Mr. Carter.

14 of 2 mo. — Mr. Carter was entreated to spend a day of humiliation among them; after the which, they had some good encouragement, and he helped two Sabbath days together after it.

16 of 3 mo. — They were disheartened by two of their company taking of council.

5 of 4 mo. — They moved for admission from Charlestown Church, upon some hope they had of Mr. Carter's help. They found them backward, and were put off for fourteen days; at which time, after much agitation, they had liberty to gather a church.

14 of 6 mo. — A church gathered at Woburne in presence of Mr. Increase Nowell, Magistrate, and Mr. [John] Wilson [of Boston], Mr. [Zecheriah] Sims [of Charlestown], Mr. [Thomas] Allen [of Charlestown], Mr. [Henry] Dunster [President of Harvard College], Mr. [John] Knowlls [of Watertown], Mr. [Thomas] Carter, and divers other godly and faithful ministers of Christ [Mr. John Cotton, of Boston; Mr. Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge; Mr. John Allin, of Dedham; Mr. John Eliot, of Roxbury; and Mr. Richard Mather, of Dorchester[1]], who held out the right hand of fellowship, in the name of the other churches, to the persons gathered; namely, John Moussall, Edward Johnson, Edward Conuars, William Lernet, Ezekill Richison, Samuwell Richison, and Thomas Richison.

22 of 9 mo. — Mr. Thomas Carter ordained Pastor of the Church of Christ,

[1] See the list in *Wonder-working Providence* (p. 178), where, from errors in the punctuation, their places of residence are strangely commingled.

at Woburne, in presence of the fore-named persons, Mr. Knowls excepted, who held out the right hand of fellowship to him.[1]

1643. 9 of 9 mo. — At a public town meeting, by consent of the town, it was ordered, that, if any man shall absent himself from a public meeting without a lawful excuse, he shall pay 18 pence to the use of the town.

[In margin.] The First Choice of Selectmen.

1644. 13 of 2 mo. — It was ordered, by the general consent of the whole freemen and inhabitants there present, that a yearly choice shall be made of seven men, or a lesser number hereafter, when the town is more settled, which shall be chosen out of the freemen of this town, who shall have power to order the prudential affairs thereof, according to the liberties and privileges granted to the several towns in this jurisdiction; their power continuing to the next first third day of the week in the first month in the next year, on which day a new choice shall be made; provided that those men which shall be chosen do at all times give public notice when any rate or assessment is to be made upon the inhabitants, to the end men may show their grievance, if any be, and mutual love and agreement may be continued by taking off the burden from the oppressed.

[1] A *fac simile* of the handwriting of Capt. Johnson in the last two paragraphs fronts the titlepage. To this has been added a specimen of his handwriting in 1652.

Capt. Johnson commenced the Woburn Records, under the date of December 8, 1640, with the following doggerel verse, alluded to on p. xxiv., which has an historical interest as showing his habits of composition nearly ten years before he wrote his book. It is here given precisely as it stands in the record. The *Towne* is supposed to be speaking in the first person singular.

RECORDS FOR THE TOWNE OF WOBURNE

ffrom the year 1640: the: 8: day of th: 10 month

Paulisper Fui

In peniles age I woburne Towne began;
Charles Towne first moued the Court my lins to span
To vewe my land place compild body Reare
Nowell; Sims Sedgwick thes my paterons were:
Sum fearing Ile grow great upon these grounds
Poor I wase putt to nurs among the Clownes
Who being taken with such mighty things
As had bin work of Noble Queins and Kings
Till Babe gan crye and great disturbance make
Nurses Repent they did har undertake
One leaves her quite an other hee doth hie
To foren lands free from the Babys Crye
To more of seauen seeing nursing proud soe thwarte
Thought it more ease: In following of the Carte
A naighbour by hopeing the Babe wold bee
A pritty Girle to Rocking har went hee
Too nurses less undanted then the rest
ffirst houses finish thus the Girle gane dreft
Its Rare to see how this poore Towne did rise
By weakess means two weake in great ons eys
And sure it is that mettells cleere extraction
Had neuer share in this Poore Towns erextion
Without which metall and sum fresh suplys
Patrons conclud she neuer upp wold rise
If ever she mongst ladys haue a station
Say twas ffrom Parentes: not har education
And now conclud the lords owne hand it wase
That with weak means did bring this work to pass
Not only Towne but Sistur church to ade
Which out of dust and Ashes now is had
Then all Inhabit woburne Towne stay make
The lord: not means of all you undertake.

It is probable, from allusions therein, that the above was written as late as 1642.

Secondly, If it shall come to pass, through the divers occurrence of town affairs which the said men shall have to do with, any scruple of conscience do arise, they shall repair to the elder or elders of the church in the said town for advice.

Thirdly, They shall not alter any man's propriety without his free consent.

Fourthly, They shall meet once a month, at the least; and all orders concluded by the major part of them, for the good of the town, shall be left under their hands in writing.

Lastly, They shall give up a account at in public, at the year's end, of disbursements and disposure of the town's land and stock.

[In margin.] Selectmen chosen the 13 of 2 mo., 1644.

Selectmen.		*For Constable.*
		William Lerned.
Edward Johnson.	Ezekill Richison.	*For Surveyors.*
Edward Conuars.	Samuwell Richison.	Michall Bacon.
John Mousall.	Jams Tompson.	Ralph hill.
William Lerned.		Thomas Richison.

1644 [-5]. — This year there fell a very great snow near the spring; and some, willing to redeem time, made choice of new men to do the town's business within the year [1645], on the 19 of the 12 mo., 1644. [The second board of town officers were the same as the first, except that John Wright was appointed Selectman in the place of James Tompson.]

1645. 8 of 7 mo. — It is ordered that those which are chosen deputies, for to serve at the General Court, shall have sixpence for every day's service they spend at the Court, as well for what is past as what is to come, besides their diet.

[A question arose, as early as 1640 (17 of 9 mo., see p. lxxxi), as to the boundary lines between Woburn and Charlestown, which was not finally adjusted till January, 1651–2. In reference to this business, the following letter was sent to the Selectmen of Charlestown, in March, 1646–7. It was probably drawn by Captain Johnson, and is a model of courteous diplomacy. The original orthography is retained in the letter.]

[In margin.] Woburnes Letter to Charlestown Men.

1646. 17 of 1 mo. — Agreed to send to the Select men of Charlestown the letter following: —

To our much respected and much approued good ffreinds of Charlstowne chosen to order the prudentiall Affaiers therof

Much Respected and Aintient ffreinds:

Wee are Bould to interupt your prefant prefious Implyments with Requeft for Iffue of thofe things which fartaine of our Beloued Brethren amoung you were chofen unto, now our humble Requeft is that they may End it forth with, if other wife they cannot fo doe our further Requeft is that fume others unintrefted in the things may put a ffreindly Ifue to the fame, our laft Requeft is that if nether of thefe will doe then in a brotherly and ffreindly way to petiftion to the generall court that wee may not bequeth mattor of diferanc to our pofteryty, thus with hope of a prefant anfwer in writting to our foe Refanabl Requeft

Wee Remain yours to be commanded
in all faruis of loue in Chrift our Lord.

1646. 29 of 7 mo.—At which time Edward Johnson received from the town, for his time spent at the General Court and some other expenses, four pound thirteen shillings; the last Court of Election, and all the sessions thereof, being yet unaccounted for.

[In margin.] An order and penalty for non-appearance at a general town meeting: Ordered, That all public meetings, after they are begun, shall continue till by a major part they break up.

[In opposite margin, in handwriting of Major William Johnson.] The 10 of 12 mo., 1673, this order was further confirmed by a major vote of the inhabitants present; also the time of appearing, on the day of choice, to be nine of the clock in the morning.

1648. 27 of 12 mo.—It was agreed and ordered, by the consent of the whole town, that the last third day of the 12th month, from year to year, shall be the day for choice of all such usual officers as are in the town's power to choose; at which time the inhabitants are to meet without warning, as also to choose deputies to the General Court. And, further, it is agreed, that, if any inhabitant shall fail of making his appearance by eight of the clock in the morning, every such person shall pay to the use of the town two shillings; the like generally to be imposed on all such as shall absent themselves above one quarter of an hour without leave of the assembly, and also the like generally to be imposed at any town meeting for non-appearance of any, or absence, the meeting being duly warned.

1664. 7 of 1 mo. — It is ordered and agreed by the selectmen of this town, that all inhabitants shall have liberty, at any general town meeting, to declare, either by word or writing, any grievance that may be upon their spirits; provided it be done orderly, and by law of him that is to order speech and silence; and that whosoever shall disorderly speak, or go on to take up the time unnecessarily, shall pay to the use of the town five shillings for every such offense.

After the town was fully organized, Captain Johnson's record of town matters was very brief, and, in some instances, evidently superficial. Perhaps he was so fully occupied in other public business that he had not time to give the records proper attention. From this cause, in the latter part of his life, disputes arose with regard to land titles. Grants made by the town were sometimes not recorded; and, in other instances, the description was so vague as to occasion controversy.

The subject was finally referred to the General Court for adjustment. A petition, signed by twenty-five of the inhabitants, dated October 7, 1667, commenced thus: "May it please this "honorable Court to vouchsafe some help to our town of Wo-"burn in dividing a lump of this wilderness earth." The Court considered the matter; and, on the 31st of the same month, "find-"ing great disorder in the town, especially touching their town "book and keeping of their records, judge it very needful that a "Committee of this Court be fully impowered for the regulation "thereof, and settling all differences amongst them depending "thereupon." (Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 355.) A Committee was appointed, who reporting, "do find that their votes passed, and "are on record in their town book, do not so clearly express the "intent of the voters as may legally determine the matter;" and hence they recommend certain measures by which the questions in dispute are settled. This affair seems not to have impaired the confidence and esteem in which Captain Johnson was held by his fellow-townsmen; for they continued to elect him

Town Clerk, Deputy, and generally Selectman, as long as he lived.

His records, during his thirty years of service, cover only thirty-six pages. The records of his son, Major William Johnson, who succeeded him as Clerk, and who began immediately to bring up the arrears with regard to land titles, cover for the first year (1672) fourteen pages.

The full description of the settlement of Woburn and of the church-gathering, which Captain Johnson has given in his book (pp. 175–181), and in the town records, is an important contribution to the early history of New-England; and shows, perhaps more minutely than any other original account, the precise manner in which the early towns were planted. These local organizations were based on no analogies in the English, or other European system. They were the natural outgrowth of the character, the principles, and the necessities of our ancestors. Before there was any colonial legislation on the subject, these little commonwealths, in which local self-government was assumed, were established. The General Court had merely to recognize them, and define their privileges. They are to-day the distinguishing features of New-England, and are found in portions of the Middle and Western States where New-England ideas have penetrated.

As religion was the first subject considered in founding the Massachusetts Colony, so it was in the planting of towns. Before any steps were taken for making a new settlement, a sufficient number of persons were enlisted in the enterprise to enable them to set up and maintain the ordinances of religion.

"Now," says Johnson (p. 177), "to declare how this people proceeded in "religious matters, and so consequently all the Churches of Christ planted "in New-England, when they came once to hopes of being such a competent

"number of people, as might be able to maintain a Minister, they then surely "seated themselves, and not before, it being as unnatural for a right N. E. man "to live without an able Ministery, as for a Smith to work his iron without a "fire: therefore this people that went about placing down a Town, began the "foundation-stone, with earnest seeking of the Lords assistance, by humbling of "their souls before him in daies of prayer, and imploring his aid in so weighty "a work. Then they address themselves to attend counsel of the most Ortho-"dox and ablest Christians, and more especially of such as the Lord had already "placed in the Ministery, not rashly running together themselves into a Church, "before they had hopes of attaining an Officer to preach the Word, and ad-"minister the Seals unto them, chosing rather to continue in fellowship with "some other Church for their Christian watch over them, till the Lord would "be pleased to provide."

Before the incorporation of the town of Woburn, the date of which was September 27, 1642,[1] all those preliminary steps had been taken. A meeting-house and a parsonage had been erected, a pastor chosen, and his support provided for.

Their ecclesiastical polity, from the first, was Congregational, rather than Independent. In the gathering of churches, it was not customary to admit the whole body of believers, but seven discreet persons, previously designated; who, after a rigid personal examination, received the fellowship of the neighboring churches, and constituted, for the time being, the Church. Others were subsequently admitted. Captain Johnson was one of the discreet seven. He thus describes their examination (p. 178):—

"The persons stood forth, and first confessed what the Lord had done for "their poor souls, by the work of his Spirit in the preaching of his Word, and "Providences, one by one; (and that all might know their faith in Christ was "bottomed upon him, as he is revealed in his Word, and that from their own "knowledg) they also declare the same, according to that measure of under-"standing the Lord had given them; the Elders, or any other messengers there "present question with them, for the better understanding of them in any points

[1] Col. Rec. ii. 28. Mr. Chickering (p. 15), and Mr. Sewall (Am. Quar. Reg. xi. 187), erroneously give May 18, 1642, as the date of incorporation.

"they doubt of, which being done, and all ſatiſfied, they in the name of the "Churches to which they do belong, hold out the right hand of fellowſhip unto "them, they declaring their Covenant, in words expreſſed in writing to this "purpoſe."[1]

The modest author of *Wonder-working Providence* was the most prominent person in this scrutinizing ordeal; and the account he then gave of his religious experience is what we need to illustrate this narrative. For the want of it, we must be content with his brief statement that the congregation and the assembled ministers were "all ſatiſfied."

The records of the Woburn Church, previous to 1755, are lost; but Captain Johnson informs us (p. 180), that, when the book was written, the membership had increased to seventy-four, of which "the greater part had been converted by the preaching of the "Word in New-England." Twelve freemen, who were church-members, signed the Town Orders in 1640. Others joined the enterprise later. The wives and children, who were communicants, must have been as numerous as the heads of families. The early membership, therefore, of the Woburn Church, I think, was thirty persons, at least; and the number will compare favorably with that of a majority of the churches which are gathered at the present day.

The ordination of the pastor, Mr. Thomas Carter, who "had "been exerciſing his gifts of preaching and prayer among them "in the mean time," did not take place at the church-gathering in August; but was delayed till the 22d of November, 1642, when the same ministers were again assembled. The town, in

[1] Two years later (September, 1644), a council met at Rowley for the ceremony of gathering the Haverhill and Andover churches. The persons who were to constitute the churches refused to declare publicly how the Lord had carried on the work of grace in their hearts, on the ground that they had made this declaration when formerly admitted to other churches. The assembly thereupon broke up without accomplishing what was intended. (Winthrop, ii. 194; Hubbard, 416; Felt, i. 535.)

the mean time, had been incorporated. This delay gave an opportunity for the seven original "pillars" to examine and admit other candidates, that all might join in the services of the ordination.

A question arose at this ordination, on a point of Congregational usage, which, at the time, was the occasion of some feeling, and subsequently of discussion, in the churches of the Colony. The question was, who were the proper officials to administer the act of ordination. If the church had the usual officers (elders, or presbyters), these persons would have performed the act by the imposition of hands, notwithstanding some eight or ten ministers from the neighboring churches were present. But the church had no such officers; and hence the ceremony was performed by two of the lay brethren, one of whom doubtless was Captain Johnson himself. He thus describes the ceremony: "After he "[the pastor elect] had exercised in preaching and prayer the "greater part of the day, two persons in the name of the Church "laid their hands upon his head and said 'We ordain thee "Thomas Carter[1] to be Pastor unto this Church of Christ'; then "one of the Elders Priest [misprint for *present*], being desired "of the Church, continued in prayer," etc.

The question had evidently been considered beforehand; and the Church were firm in maintaining the right of lay ordination, in opposition to the well-known views of some of the ministers present. Governor Winthrop, who was not present, entered in

[1] Mr. Carter's settlement in Woburn continued for forty-two years, till his death, September 5, 1684, at the age of 74. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, England, and had his degrees in 1629-30 and 1633 (Savage, in Winthrop, ii. 91). "Thomas Carter, aged 25 years," embarked for New-England, at London, April 2, 1635, in the "Planter," Nicholas Trerice, master, in the assumed condition of servant of George Giddins (Mass. Hist. Coll. xxviii. 254). The age of this person identifies him as the first Pastor of Woburn. Nicholas Trerice was one of the signers of the Woburn Town Orders, 1640; and he settled in Woburn. The passengers in the "Planter" brought certificates from the minister of Great St. Albans, in Hertfordshire, which may have been Mr. Carter's early residence.

his Journal, the same day they took place, his disapproval of these proceedings: —

"22 [November, 1642]. The village at the end of Charlestown bounds was "called Woburn, where they had gathered a church, and this day Mr. Carter "was ordained their pastor, with the assistance of the elders of other churches. "Some difference there was about his ordination; some advised, in regard they "had no elder of their own, nor any members very fit to solemnize such an ordi-"nance, they would desire some of the elders of the other churches to have per-"formed it; but others, supposing it might be an occasion of introducing a "dependency of churches, etc., and so a presbytery, would not allow it. So it "was performed by one[1] of their own members, but not so well and orderly as "it ought." (Savage's Winthrop, ii. 91.)

Governor Winthrop's type of Puritanism — and he represented the views of other leading minds of that period — was not in complete harmony with the popular sentiments of the Colony. He came into it, from the Church of England, without a shock, and with old associations still clinging to him.[2] The majority came into it by the stormy road of persecution; and their chief aim was to set up an ecclesiastical system as unlike as possible the one from which they had been driven. The ordination at Woburn was not, as Winthrop recorded, a disorderly proceeding; but was in conformity with Congregational usage at that time. Mr. Samuel Skelton and Mr. Francis Higginson were ordained at Salem, in 1629, "by three or four of the graveſt "members of the Church."[3] Mr. John Wilson was so ordained

[1] Winthrop says "it was performed by *one;*" Johnson says by "*two* perſons." Winthrop probably refers to the spokesman, and Johnson to the two laymen who joined in the imposition of hands. Johnson, being the most eminent citizen of the town, was doubtless the spokesman. Winthrop's rather satirical remark that the church had no "members very fit to solemnize such an "ordinance," probably grew out of his disapproval of the act rather than from his knowledge of the actor. Johnson was not brought in official contact with the Governor till he became a Deputy to the General Court, one year later.

[2] Mr. R. C. Winthrop, in "Life and Letters of John Winthrop" (ii. 14), says the Governor "never renounced the communion "of his fathers."

[3] Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 67.

at Charlestown in 1630. Mr. John Cotton, also, at Boston, in 1633, and Mr. Thomas Hooker at New-town, the same year, were ordained by laymen in the presence of the clergy. As the number of the clergy and of the churches increased, the practice gradually went out of use. In the Plymouth Colony, "Maſter "Hooke received ordination [at Taunton] from the hands of one "maſter Biſhop a ſchoolmaſter, and one Parker an huſbandman, "and then maſter Hooke joyned in ordaining maſter Streate."[1]

Mr. John Cotton, in his "Way of the Churches in New-England," 1645, provides for a case like that at Woburn; and, having been present on the occasion, had it probably in mind when he wrote his chapter on Ordination, pp. 39–41. He says,—

"When therefore any of the Churches are deſtitute of any of theſe Officers, "the Brethren of the Church look out from amongſt themſelves, ſuch perſons "as are in ſome meaſure qualified. If the Church can finde out none ſuch "in their own body, they ſend to any other Church for fit ſupply, and each "Church looketh at it as their dutie to be mutually helpfull one to another, in "yeelding what ſupply they may, without too much prejudice to themſelves. . . . "Such being recommended to them for ſuch a work, they take ſome time "of tryall of them. . . . For every man of good gifts is not alwayes endowed "with an honeſt and good heart; and every good heart is not fitted to cloſe "(ſo fully as were meet) with every good people: Every Key is not fit to "open every Lock; nor every mans gift fit to edifie every people. . . . When "the day [of ordination] is come, it is kept as a day of humiliation, with "faſting, praying and preaching the Word, according to the patterne. "Towards the cloſe of the day, one of the Elders of the Church (if it have "any) if not, one of the graver Brethren of the Church, (appointed by "themſelves to order the worke of the day) ſtandeth up and inquireth of the "Church, If now . . . they ſtill continue in their purpoſe to elect ſuch a one "for their Paſtor, or Teacher, or Ruling Elder, whom before they agreed "upon. . . . He proceedeth to inquire into the approbation of the reſt of "the Aſſembly. . . . Now ſeeing all is clear, he deſireth all the Brethren "of that Church to declare their Election of him with one accord, by lifting

[1] Lechford, Plaine Dealing, 1642, 40.

"up their hands; which being done, he desireth to know of the partie "chosen whether he doth accept of that calling. . . . He then with the "Presbytery [Elders] of that Church (if it have any, if not two or three "others of the gravest Christians amongst the Brethren of that Church, "being deputed by the body) doe in the name of the Lord Jesus ordaine him "unto that Office, with imposition of hands, calling upon the Lord. . . . After "this the Elders of their Churches present, observing the presence of God, both "in the duties of that day performed by the Officer chosen and ordained, and in "the *orderly* proceeding of the Church in his Election and Ordination, one of "them, in the name of all the rest, doth give unto him the *right hand of* "*fellowship* in the sight of all the Assembly."

Lechford, in "Plaine Dealing," 1642 (p. 3), describes a New-England ordination as follows: —

"Then they set another day [subsequent to the church-gathering] for the "ordination of said officers, and appoint some of themselves to impose hands "upon their officers, which is done in a publique day of fasting and prayer. "Where there are Ministers, or Elders, before, they impose their hands upon "the new Officers: but where there is none, there some of their chiefest "men, two or three, of good report amongst them, though not in the Ministery, "doe, by appointment of the said Church, lay hands upon them."

This was precisely the order observed at the Woburn Ordination. Hubbard (p. 409), in noticing the dissatisfaction which was felt on the occasion, says, "Since that time it hath been more "frequent, in such cases, to desire the elders of neighboring "churches, by virtue of communion of churches, to ordain . . . "where there are no elders before." When Cotton Mather wrote his "Ratio Disciplinæ," 1726, the custom of lay or plebeian ordinations had fallen into disuse.[1]

[1] Captain Johnson has omitted to state what arrangements were made to entertain the clergy and other delegates who came to attend Mr. Carter's ordination. They doubtless received a generous hospitality. Some of them came from a considerable distance, — Mr. Mather from Dorchester, and Mr. Allin from Dedham, — and traveling was a serious matter in those days. The Town Records of Woburn, however, give the expenses incurred at the ordination of Mr. Jackson, in 1729. Two of the bills, furnished

Captain Johnson took his seat in the General Court, May 10, 1643, as Deputy from the town of Woburn, which was the first session of the Court after the incorporation of the town.[1] Early in the session, he was placed on a Committee, with Captains Gibbons, Sedgwick, Cooke, and Dennison,[2] to consider of some orders to put the country into a position for war; to put arms in order, to inspect fortifications, and to propound such order as they think of to the Court.[3] At this session, he was appointed "Clerk of the Writs" at Woburn. On the 7th of September following, he was appointed one of the three Commissioners, with a guard of forty men, to proceed to Shawomet, to arrest and "bring "Samuel Gorton and his company, if they do not give them "satisfaction."[4] The Surveyor General was ordered to deliver to these Commissioners, "or any of them, what they may desire, as "needful for themselves or their company." They proceeded on the expedition, and returned with Gorton and eleven of his company under arrest. On the 17th of October, Gorton was arraigned as "a blasphemos enemy of the true religion of o^r Lord Jesus "Christ & his holy ordinances & also of all civill authority among

by Rev. Samuel Sewall, in American Quarterly Register, xiv. 263, are as follows: —

"*To Mr. Jonathan Poole, Esq., for subsisting the Ministers and Messengers and Gentlemen in the time of Mr. Jackson's Ordination.*

To 433 Dinners at 2:6 a Dinner	£54. 2.6
To Suppers and Breakfasts, 178	08.18.0
To Keeping 32 horses 4 days	3. 0.0
To Six Barrils & ½ of Cyder	4.11.0
To 25 Gallons of Wine	9.10.0
To 2 Gallons of Brandy and 4 Gallons of Rhum	1.16.0
To Loaf Suger, Lime Juce, and pipes	1.12.0
	£83. 9.6
To Mr. Noah Richardson for Keeping the Ministers and Messengers Horses in the time of Mr. Jackson's Ordination	£2. 0.0

[1] The Woburn Records make no mention of his election as Deputy for 1643, or for several subsequent years. The first popular election of town officers did not take place till 1644: and, in the record of that meeting, the appointment of a Deputy is not mentioned. Up to this time, the affairs of the town seem to have been managed by the Committee appointed by the Church at Charlestown.

[2] These were persons of well-known military experience; and the association of Johnson with them indicates that his military knowledge was early appreciated, although his name appears in the list as "Goodman Johnson." At that time he had no military rank in the Colony.

[3] Col. Rec. ii. 39.

[4] Idem. 44.

"the people of God, & perticulerly in this iurifdiction."[1] Captain Johnson was, at this date, paid £5 for his services.[2]

The summary mode in which justice was administered in the early days of the Colony occasioned a general feeling of disquietude on the part of the people.[3] They desired a written code, that they might know what laws they were to obey, and that they might be protected from capricious arrests and unusual punishments. The Magistrates, dependent on popular favor, were compelled to give a nominal assent to this reasonable demand; and yet they were very well satisfied with matters as they then stood, and were in no haste to limit their own prerogatives. By annually appointing, from their own number, committees to draw up a code, they managed for several years to postpone all definite action in the matter. These committees did nothing, and were expected to do nothing. This process of delay commenced in March, 1634–5. John Winthrop and Richard Bellingham were then "desired by the Court to take a view of all orders already "made, and to inform the next General Court, which of them "they judge meet to be altered, abreviated, repealed, corrected, "enlarged or explained."[4]

In May, 1635, these persons, with John Haynes and Thomas Dudley, were instructed to make a "draft of fuch laws as they "fhall judge needful."[5] Nothing, of course, was done; and in May, 1636, the same persons, with Governor Vane, and, of the clergy, Cotton, Peters, and Shepard, were "entreated to make "a draft of laws agreeable to the word of God. In the mean "time the magiftrates fhall determine all caufes according to the "laws now eftablifhed; and, where there is no law, then as near "the law of God as they can."[6]

[1] Col. Rec. ii. 51.
[2] Idem. ii. 53.
[3] See Winthrop, i. 160.
[4] Idem. i. 137.
[5] Idem. i. 147.
[6] Idem. i. 174.

As usual, nothing practical came of this entreaty. A code, however, on the pattern of "Moſes his Judicials," was prepared by Mr. John Cotton, and was submitted to the General Court, October 25, 1636.[1] The same was published in London, in 1641, as "An Abſtract of the Laws of New England as they are now "Eſtabliſhed." This code was never established in New-England. It was reprinted in London, by William Aspinwall, in 1655; in Hutchinson's Collections (pp. 161–179); and in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. pp. 173–187.

Two years later (March, 1637–8), the magistrates take up the complaint of "the want of written laws," and devise the strange plan that the freemen in every town shall assemble and collect "the heads of ſuch neceſſary laws as may be ſuitable." A Committee, constituted substantially of the same persons as before, with the addition of Nathaniel Ward, William Spencer, and William Hawthorn, was raised "to make a compendious abridge-"ment" of what was received from the towns.[2]

Another two years had nearly passed without any results. The people became more restless, and their demands could no longer be evaded by the useless form of appointing committees of the magistrates and the clergy. Governor Winthrop, November, 1639 (i. 323), states what the trouble was. "Moſt of the magiſ-"trates and some of the elders," he says, "are not very forward "in this matter." He assigns two reasons. "One was want of "ſufficient experience of the nature and diſpoſition of the people." The second was, that the customs of the Colony, if formally expressed in a written code, might be repugnant to the laws of England. He reasons thus: "To raiſe up laws by practice and "cuſtom had been no tranſgreſſion; as in our church diſcipline, "and in matters of marriage, to make a law that marriages ſhould "not be ſolemnized by miniſters, is repugnant to the laws of

[1] Winthrop, i. 202. [2] Col. Rec. i. 222.

"England; but to bring it to a cuſtom by practice for the magiſ-
"trates to perform it, is no law made repugnant. At length (to
"ſatiſſy the people) it proceeded, and the two models [Cotton's
"and Ward's] were digeſted with divers alterations and addi-
"tions, and abbreviated and ſent to every town."

On the 5th of November, 1639, was appointed another Committee, consisting of Winthrop, Dudley, Bellingham, of the Magistrates, and the six Deputies of Boston, Charlestown, and Roxbury.[1] For the first time, the representatives of the people had a controlling voice on the Committee, and the prospect of their having a written code grew brighter. Before the Court met the following May, "a breviat of laws had been ſent forth to "be conſidered by the elders and other freemen." This was the celebrated Code of "Liberties," drawn up by Mr. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich; probably in 1638, when he was a member of the Committee. By skillful management on the part of the Magistrates, final action was delayed for another two years. In June, 1641, the Governor was appointed to peruse all the laws, and make return to the next General Court.[2] On the 7th of October, the Governor and Mr. Hawthorne were "deſired to ſpeak "to Mr. Ward for a copy of the liberties, and of the capital laws, "to be tranſcribed and ſent to the ſeveral towns."[3] On the 10th of December, 1641, the main question was reached, and "the "bodye of laues formerly ſent forth amonge the ffreemen, was "voted to ſtand in force."[4]

The "Liberties of the Maſſachuſetts Collonie," of 1641, was the firſt Code of Laws enacted in New-England, and formed the basis of the later Massachusetts codes and of the laws of other colonies. No copy of the Liberties of 1641 is to be found in the

[1] Col. Rec. i. 279.
[2] Idem. i. 320.
[3] Idem. i. 340.
[4] Idem. i. 346. This paragraph, in the original record, is in the handwriting of Governor Winthrop.

archives of the State; and, till within a few years, its existence was unknown. It was supposed by many that Mr. Cotton's Abstract on the model of Moses, published in England in 1641, and reprinted by Mr. Aspinwall in 1655, was the Code enacted in 1641.

Some forty years ago, a manuscript copy of the genuine Liberties was discovered in the Library of the Boston Athenæum, prefixed to a printed copy of Massachusetts Laws of 1672: and it was first printed, in 1843, in vol. xxviii. of the Massachusetts Historical Collections (pp. 216–237), with an interesting historical introduction by Mr. Francis C. Gray, to whom the credit of announcing the discovery, if not the discovery itself, belongs.

It is a fact worthy of notice, that the Preamble of the Woburn Town Orders, adopted December 18, 1640 (which I have copied, on pp. lxxxi–ii, from the handwriting of Captain Johnson), is nearly identical with the noble Preamble of the "Liberties of the "Maſſachuſetts Colonie," which, as already stated, was not enacted till December 10, 1641. The variations, as will be seen from the following transcript of each in parallel columns, are merely verbal: —

PREAMBLE OF WOBURN TOWN ORDERS, 1640.	PREAMBLE OF MASSACHUSETTS LIBERTIES, 1641.
The free fruition of such liberties and privileges as humanity, civility, and Christianity calls for, as due to every man, with his place and proportion, without impeachment and infringing, *which* hath ever been, and ever will be, the tranquillity and stability of christian commonwealths; and the denial or the deprival thereof, the disturbance, if not the ruin, of both.	The free fruition of such liberties, immunities, and privileges as humanity, civility, and Christianity call for, as due to every man, in his place and proportion, without impeachment and infringement, hath ever been, and ever will be, the tranquillity and stability of churches and commonwealths; and the denial or deprival thereof, the disturbance, if not the ruin, of both.

This sublime declaration, standing at the head of the first Code of Laws in New-England, was the production of no common

intellect. It has the movement and the dignity of a mind like John Milton's or Algernon Sidney's; and its theory of government was far in advance of the age. A bold avowal of the rights of man, and a plea for popular freedom, it contains the germ of the memorable Declaration of July 4, 1776.

That Mr. Nathaniel Ward, the lawyer, the clergyman, and the humorist, was the author of the "Liberties of 1641," there can be no doubt. If he was the sole author of the Preamble of his Code, he was a greater man than has been claimed by his biographers. I suspect, however, that the leading ideas expressed in the Preamble originated with some of the acute and advanced thinkers of that period in England.

How came this Preamble in the Woburn Town Orders one year before it was adopted by the Massachusetts Colony? Edward Johnson was certainly not its author. He had not, at that time, any official position in the government. Mr. Ward, in 1638, was a member of a Committee to draft a Code; and, the next year, copies of his draft were sent out to the several towns to be read and considered.[1] The Court on the 13th of May, 1640,[2] say, that, "Whereas a breviat of laws was formerly sent forth to be considered by the Elders of the Churches and other freemen of this "Commonwealth, it is now desired that they will endeavour to "ripen their thoughts and counsels about the same, by the General Court in the next eighth month" [December, 1640]. This was the month in which the Woburn Town Orders were adopted and signed. The Preamble evidently was copied from Mr. Ward's draft, then in the hands of the Elders and freemen of Charlestown.[3]

[1] Winthrop, i. 323; Col. Rec. i. 279.

[2] Idem. i. 292.

[3] The variations in the Woburn Preamble from that of the "Liberties," as finally adopted, are all for the worse. The former has several grammatical errors; and one word, "which" (italicized in the transcript), is superfluous. Many copies were made for distribution; and the errors are such as a careless copyist would be likely to make in

An important step in the right direction had now been taken; but the people were still impatient under this brief exposition of their liberties, and of the large and general powers still remaining undefined in the hands of the Magistrates. What they had was analogous to the Bill of Rights prefixed to our General Statutes. They now demanded specific statutes under these rights. For another seven years, the process, already described, of delay, of appointing committees of the Magistrates, who did nothing, and whose interest was to do nothing, went on.[1] It was only by the energy and perseverance of a few representatives of the people, of whom Captain Johnson was perhaps the most efficient, that a body of Laws was prepared and ratified; and which was printed in the year 1648.

Captain Johnson's name first appears in this connection, May 14, 1645,[2] when three Committees of six persons each, from the Counties of Suffolk, Middlesex, and Essex, were appointed to meet in their several Counties, to draw up a body of Laws, and present them to the next General Court. The Deputies, the following May,[3] thankfully accepted what had been done, and appointed a new Committee of six to condense the same. Captain Johnson was the only Deputy placed on this Committee;[4] but the work went on; and the Committee completed their

an involved and stately sentence. Some of the changes — as the insertion of "im-"munities" — may have been made in the original draft, at a subsequent period, and before its enactment.

If any evidence were needed to prove that the manuscript in the Boston Athenæum Library is a true copy of the "Liberties of "1641," the facts mentioned would tend to confirm its authenticity. Later drafts begin, "Forasmuch as the free fruition," etc.

[1] See Col. Rec. ii. 21, 22, 39, 61.

[2] Idem. ii. 109. [3] Idem. iii. 75.

[4] Mr. F. C. Gray, in his interesting paper on the "Early Laws of Massachusetts" (in Mass. Hist. Coll. xxviii.), in no instance mentions Captain Johnson in connection with the laws of 1648. He gives (p. 210) the names of several persons on this Committee, but omits Johnson's. On the next page, quoting from the Records, he gives the names of all the other members of the Committee appointed May 26, 1647, and again omits Johnson's. He probably did not know who Edward Johnson was, and considered the name of no importance.

labors. In November, 1646,[1] "the Court, being deeply sensi-"ble of the earneſt expectation of the country in general for "this Courts completing of a body of laws . . . willing alſo to "their utmoſt to anſwer their honeſt and hearty deſires therein . . . "whereby we may manifeſt our utter diſſatiſfaction to arbitrary "government," appointed another Committee, of which Captain Johnson was not a member, to perfect what already "are drawn "up . . . thereby to make way for printing our laws." The working-man had been dropped from the Committee, and hence little or nothing was done.

On the 26th of May, 1647, the record of the Court is as follows:[2] "The Court underſtanding that the Committee for perfect-"ing the laws, appointed at the laſt General Court, through ſtraits "of time and other things interveaning, have not attained what "they expected, and on all hands ſo much deſired," proceed to appoint a Committee of six "to do the ſame againſt the next ſeſ-"ſions of the 8th mo. or the next General Court." The Committee was the same as the preceding one, except that Captain Johnson was restored. The work was completed within the time specified, and was put to press during the summer of 1648. On the 27th of October, 1648, an order was passed,[3] directing how "the Book of the Laws now at the preſs ſhall be ſold and diſtri-"buted." We see, therefore, that, when Captain Johnson was on the Committee, then, and only then, efficient progress was made in the work.

In *Wonder-working Providence*, Captain Johnson has an entire chapter (pp. 205–6) on the completion of this first printed edition of the Massachusetts Laws.[4] He says, with an air, seemingly, of

[1] Idem. ii. 168; iii. 84.
[2] Idem. ii. 196.
[3] Idem. iii. 144.
[4] He, or his printer, has made a mistake in the date of the appointment of three County Committees. This appointment was made in 1645, and not in 1646.

personal triumph, "In the year 1648 they were printed, and *now* "*are to be ſeen of all men.*" This statement is so far from being true in our day, that not a single copy of the Massachusetts Laws of 1648 is known to be in existence. It is by no means improbable that one may yet come to light. He who shall discover it, will find a priceless treasure, and will excite the envy of antiquaries and book-collectors.

I do not claim that Captain Johnson was the chief compiler of the Massachusetts Laws of 1648. In legal knowledge and literary training, he was excelled by other persons who were engaged with him in the work. But he was the man thoroughly in earnest that the Laws should be written out and printed. He understood the wants of the people, and furnished the democratic impetus which the enterprise so much needed. His practical common-sense was useful in thwarting impracticable suggestions, and in harmonizing conflicting opinions. There was also much work to be done in transcribing, collating, and condensing the various drafts submitted.

The Court Records of the session commencing March 1, 1647–8, has the following entry (ii. 231): "Leiſt. Johnſon, upon "his requeſt (being preſſed wth many urgent occaſions) is dif- "miſſed fro^m^ any furth^r^ attendance on ye service of ye Co^r^te." The Deputies' Records for this session, which might throw light on the nature of the pressing business that required his absence from Court, are unfortunately missing. Something — probably the same business — prevented his attendance at the next General Court, which met on the 10th of May following; and hence John Wright was appointed in his stead as Deputy from Woburn (iii. 121). This was the only year, from 1643 to 1672, in which Captain Johnson did not have a seat in the General Court. What was this urgent business? His whole time was engrossed in public duties, either for the Town or the Colony.

The Woburn Records show that there was no town business that required his special attention. On the other hand, he so neglected the town records for the year 1648, that he did not even enter the proceedings of the annual March meeting, when town officers and the Deputy were chosen. It is highly probable that he was wholly absorbed during the Spring, Summer, and Fall in revising and printing the Massachusetts Laws of 1648.[1]

It is evident, from the many similar Committees on which Captain Johnson subsequently served, that his knowledge and good judgment in legal matters were held in high esteem by his associates. The duties of some of these Committees were as follows: —

19 June, 1650. — "To draw vp inſtructions for o^r honoured commiſſionor^s "[of the United Colonies] for theire directions agaynſt the time when the com- "miſſione^rs of all the colonies shall meete." (iii. 201.)

23 May, 1651. — "To drawe vp inſtruccons for our honnord comiſſioners" as before. (iv. Pt. 1, 45.)

9 June, 1654. — "To drawe vp ſeueral letters to his highnes the Lord Pro- "tectors letter, ye letter for ye gent^m of ye corporation, & Mr Winſlows," etc. (iv. Pt. 1, 196.)

1 June, 1661. — "To conſider & debate ſuch matter or thing of publicke con- "cernment touching our pattent, lawes, priviledges, & duty to his maj^ty as they "in theire wiſdome ſhall judge moſt expedient, & drawe vp the reſult of theire

[1] There is no record that Captain Johnson was paid for this service; but there is a record of compensation granted, 11 May, 1649, to Mr. Joseph Hill, of Malden, who also was employed on the work, as follows: "Mr. Joſeph Hill is graunted, as a gratuity, "tenn pounds, to be paid him out of the "treaſury, for his paines about the printed "lawes." (iii. 162.) Nothing appears in the records that the printers, or other persons employed, were paid; yet they must have been. We have the Court Records and the Deputies' Records covering this period. Business recorded in one is often omitted in the other, and the Treasurer's accounts are not given in either. The appointment of the Committee of May 26, 1647, who completed the printed laws of 1648, is omitted from the Deputies' Records. Mr. Hill was not a Deputy in 1649, and Captain Johnson was, which may explain why a special appropriation was made in Mr. Hill's favor.

"apprehenſions, & preſent the ſame to the next ſeſſion for conſideration & appro-
"bation, that ſo (if the will of God be) wee may ſpeake & act the ſame thing,
"becomeing prudent, honeſt, conſcientious, & faithful men." (iv. Pt. 2, 24.)

31 May, 1670.—"Whereas there is great want of law bookes for the vſe of "the ſeuerall Courts and inhabitants in this juriſdiction at preſent, & very few "of them that are extant or compleat, conteyning all lawes now in force amongſt "vs, it is therefore ordered by this Court that [the persons named] are ap-"pointed to be a committee to pervſe all our lawes now in force, to collect & "drawe vp any literall erro's, or miſplacing of words or ſentences therein, or "any libertjes infringed, and to make a convenient table for the ready finding "of all things therein, that ſo they may be fitted ffor the preſſe, & the ſame to "preſent to the next ſession of this Court." (iv. Pt. 2, 453.)

The Committee last named reported on the 12th of October, 1670. Various corrections and additions were submitted, and the Code was printed in 1672. Captain Johnson appears to have taken no part in the preparation of the Code of 1660. Major-General Daniel Dennison made that revision, and prepared the Index. (iv. Pt. 1, 337, 350.)

The various offices which Captain Johnson filled in the town of Woburn indicate the respect in which he was held by his fellow-citizens. For thirty years he was not only their Town Clerk and Representative in the General Court, but he usually was Chairman of the Selectmen, and one of the three "Commiſ-"ſioners for ending ſmall cauſes."[1] In October, 1648, at the requeſt of the Town, he was appointed by the Court "to ſee "people join in marriage;"[2] and the appointment was renewed from year to year. In 1649, his duties were thus expressed: "To join ſuch in marriage there as ſhall be publiſhed there "according to law."[3] In 1656, any one of the "Commiſſioners

[1] The Commissioners' jurisdiction was originally limited to cases where the value in question did not exceed twenty shillings. (Col. Rec. i. 239.) The limit was afterwards extended to forty shillings. (Idem. i. 357.)

[2] Col. Rec. ii. 258.

[3] Idem. ii. 283. The legal mode of pub-

"for ending ſmall cauſes" could legalize marriages in towns where no Magistrate dwelt, provided two of the Commissioners were present. (Idem. iii. 298.)

When not in attendance at Court, Captain Johnson was employed in running boundary lines, locating land grants, and acting as referee in cases of disputed titles. He evidently was skilled in the duties of land-surveyor. Much of this work was assigned by the General Court; and for it he probably received but little compensation. When the first assembly of Deputies met, in May, 1634, no provision, as in the English House of Commons, was made for their pay. In March, 1634–5, before the end of the first session, it was ordered that "the charges of dyett," during the term of every Court, be paid out of the treasury. (Col. Rec. i. 142.) In October, 1636, the rule was changed, and the charge for Deputies' board was laid upon the towns "to eaſe the publick." (Idem. i. 183.) This order was rescinded the following March, and the charge was again "bourn by the country." (Idem. i. 187.) In May, 1638, it was ordered that every town shall bear the charges of their own Magistrates and Deputies; that a Magistrate shall be allowed 3ˢ 6ᵈ a day, and a Deputy 2ˢ 6ᵈ a day "for their dyot and lodging." (Idem. i. 228.) The Deputies received no other remuneration than board and lodging, concerning which the Records give many curious details.[1]

lication was to announce "the intention of "the parties three times at ſome public lec- "ture or town meeting, where the parties or "either of them do ordinarily reſide, and in "towns where no lectures are, then the in- "tention is to be ſet up in writing upon "ſome poſt ſtanding in public view, and "uſed for ſuch purpoſe only, and there to "ſtand, ſo as it may eaſily be read, by the "ſpace of fourteen days." Towns having no weekly lecture, and not furniſhing a matrimonial post, were fined ten shillings a month for default in providing the latter. (Idem. i. 275.)

[1] The following order was passed Nov. 2, 1654: "Whereas it is judged moſt comly, "convenient, & conduceable to the diſpatch "of publick ſervice, that the Deputyes of yᵉ "Genᵃˡ Court ſhould dyett together, eſpecial- "ly at dynner, it is therfore ordred, that the "Deputyes . . . ſhall all be provided for at "the Shipp Tauerne, at Boston, in reſpect to "dynner, & yᵗ they shall all accordingly "dyne together, & that Lieut. Phillips, the

The Town of Woburn not only made provision for their Deputy's "dyet" (when the laws required it), but, in view of his arduous and unrequited services, voted him a salary besides, as appears from an entry in its Records on "the 8th of 3 mo. 1645:" "It was ordered that thoſe which are choſen deputys for to ſarue "at ye generall Courte ſhall have *ſixpence* for euery days ſaruis "they ſpend at ye Court, as well for what is paſt as what is to "come, beſide their dyet." On account of the difficulty of procuring silver to pay the Deputy's board, corn was sometimes sent to Boston for payment.[1]

Before the close of the century, the salary of the Woburn Deputies was increased to two shillings, and again to three shillings a day. Unless Captain Johnson had been possessed of considerable property, he could not, on a salary of sixpence a day, have served the public so many years.

Captain Johnson, on p. 211, speaks of Mr. Marmaduke Matthews, who had preached at Hull "till he loſt the approbation of "ſome able underſtanding men, among both Magiſtrates and "Miniſters, by weak and unſafe expreſſions in his teaching, yet

"keeper of ſaid tauerne, ſhalbe payd for "y^e ſame by the Treaſurer for the tyme "being, by diſcounting the ſame in the cus-"tome of wyne payable by the ſaid Lieut "Phillipps, & that the Treaſurer ſhalbe "repayd by the ſeueral townes."

"An agreement made with Lieut Phillips "by the Deputys now aſſembled in Gen^ll "Court, that the Dep^ties of the next Court of "Election ſhall ſit in the new court cham-"ber, & be dyeted wth breakfaſt, dynner, & "ſupper, wth wine, & beere betweene meales, "wth fire & beds, at the rate of three ſhillings "per day, ſo many as take all their dyet as "afforeſaid at ſaid howſe, but such as only "dyne, & not ſupp, to pay eyghteen pence for "their dynners with wine, & beere betwixt "meales; but by wine is intended a cupp "each man at dynner & supp, & no more.

"Lieut Phillips did accept of this, & "agreed thereto, wth this proviſo, that only "ſuch as had all their dyet there ſhould "haue beere betweene meales, & alſo vppon "extraordinary occaſion he might haue the "vſe of the great court chamber." (Col. Rec. iii. 352–3.)

[1] In 1674 these items appear: "The "Town Dr. to deputy's dyet £02.05.00. To "Gerſhom Flagg for bringing downe Corne "for deputy's dyet, £00.02.00." In 1676, "To deputy's dyiet aleuen weicks, ſilver "advanced, £5.2.4."

"notwithſtanding he was called to the office of a Paſtor at Mal-
"den, although ſome Neighbour-churches were unſatiſfied there-
"with, for it is the manner of all the Churches of Chriſt here
"hitherto, to have the approbation of the Siſter-churches, and of
"the civil Government in the proceedings of this nature."

This was a marked case in the ecclesiastical history of the Colony; and Captain Johnson was one of the Committee appointed by the General Court to investigate and report upon it. The action of the Court in the matter was a high-handed piece of interference, if not of tyranny, even for those times; and we can hardly understand how the Captain, whose action at the organization of the Woburn Church, as we have seen, went almost to the freedom of Independency, could have done otherwise than protest and vote against it. On one occasion,[1] the names of those who voted in the negative are given, and his name is not among the number. He may have been absent when the vote was taken; but I think it more than probable that he sustained the report of his Committee, and voted with the majority. For nearly ten years he had been a law-maker in the Colony, and the possession of power naturally tends to conservatism. During those ten years the ecclesiastical system was gradually changing from a liberal to a rigid Congregationalism; and the Puritans of New-England — in distinction from the Separatists or Pilgrims — held to the right of the civil government to regulate ecclesiastical matters. That he regarded Mr. Matthews as an able and honest, though imprudent, man, appears in his narrative, and also in this "meeter:"

"Compleating of Chriſts Churches is at hand,
"*Mathews* ſtand up, and blow a certain ſound,
"Warriours are wanting Babel to withſtand,
"Chriſts truths maintain, 'twill bring thee honors crown'd."[2]

[1] October 14, 1651. Col. Rec. iii. 250.

[2] Mr. Matthews came from the west of England, and arrived in Boston in September, 1638. (Winthrop, i. 273.) Mr. Winthrop speaks of him as a "godly miniſter." He removed to the Plymouth Colony (Lech-

In June, 1652, "for the better discovery of the north line of our "patent," it was ordered that Captain Simon Willard and Captain "Johnson be appointed as Commissioners to procure such artists "and other assistants as they shall judge meet to go with them, to "find out the most northerly part of Merrimack River, and that "they be supplied with all manner of necessaries by the Treasurer "fit for their journey, and that they use their utmost skill and ability "to take a true observation of the latitude of the place, and that "they do it with all convenient speed, and make return thereof at "the next sessions of this Court." (iv. Pt. 1, 98.)

ford, Plaine Dealing, 41), and preached for some years at Yarmouth. His name first appears in the Colony Records, May, 1649 (iii. 153), in a petition of the inhabitants of Hull for encouraging Mr. Matthews to preach among them. The Court votes that he shall not return to Hull, nor reside among them, and shall be admonished by the Governor in the name of the Court, for several erroneous, weak, inconvenient, and unsafe expressions. (iii. 159.) Soon after, he is invited to preach at Malden. He gives satisfaction to the Church, and is solicited to become their Pastor. The neighboring churches and the magistrates protest against it. The Church, zealous for what they consider their rights, proceed to settle him. The Church and Pastor are summoned into Court to answer for these irregular proceedings. An opportunity is given the parties to retract and apologize. (iii. 203.) This not being done, the Court fines the Church £50, to be levied on the estates of three persons (one of them is Mr. Joseph Hill, the town Deputy); and the three persons are empowered to collect proportions of said sum from other members of the Church. Mr. Matthews is fined £10, and the execution of judgment is respited till other goods appear besides books. (iii. 257.) Mr. Matthews makes an apology; but "not such, and so full as might "be expected. yet the Court are willing so to "accept of it at present as to pass it by; and "for the remitment of the fines, they see no "cause to grant their request therein, the "country being put to so great trouble, "charge and expense in the hearing of the "cause as far surmounts the fines." (iii. 276.)

In October, 1652, Mr. Hill petitions for the remitment of the fines. Mr. Matthews's fine is remitted, and £10 from that of the Church. (iii. 294.) In May, 1655, £13.6.8 of the Church's fine had not been paid. Mr. Hill and others again petition that the amount due be remitted, and "humbly ac-"knowledge the offense." The answer is as follows: "The Court doth well approove and "accept of the peticioners acknowledgments "of theire irregular actings in those times, "but vnderstanding much, if not most, of "the fine being pajd for, & that the rest is "secured and should long since haue binn "pajd in, they see not cawse to graunt theire "request in that." (iv. Pt. 1, 236.)

Mr. Hill had been a member of the General Court for seven years, and had been Speaker of the House of Deputies. The next year five hundred acres of land were granted to him for money paid, and for services to the country. (iv. Pt. 1, 271.)

Complaints had been made by the proprietors of the Mason and Gorges patents that the Massachusetts men were encroaching upon their jurisdiction; for they had crossed the Merrimack, and planted themselves at Portsmouth, Hampton, Dover, and Exeter, and wherever they found favorable locations. They had even passed the Piscataqua, and taken up their residence at Kittery and York. From their numbers, their energy, and their tact in organizing government, they soon obtained a controlling influence in all the settlements in the territory which is now New-Hampshire and Maine.

While the Mason and Gorges claimants and their leading men demurred at this intrusion, the old settlers generally favored the new order of events, as it gave them an established government, and allied them to the vigorous Colony of Massachusetts Bay. After much controversy, the Massachusetts Colony took these towns under their protection, on the ground that the terms of their Charter gave them the requisite jurisdiction. This they proved to their own satisfaction, if they were not so fortunate as to bring their opponents into the same belief. The Massachusetts Patent of 1628 defined the northern boundary of the Colony as "three English miles to the northward of said river called Merri-"mack, or to the northward of *any and every part* thereof, from "the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea [Pacific Ocean] on the "west part." Little was known of the Merrimack River in 1628. Its course near the coast was easterly, and the supposition naturally was that this was its general course in *any and every part* thereof.[1] Such is not the fact. It rises in the mountains of New-Hampshire; and its course, till within thirty miles of the coast, is from the north. Whatever might have been the wording of the Patent, there can be little doubt as to the intention of the makers of the instrument — which was, that the northern

[1] Hutchinson's Collections, 422.

boundary should be three miles north of the river, whatever its course might be; and that, three miles from the most northerly part, the line should extend due west to the South Sea. The Massachusetts Government chose to give the phraseology of the Patent a technical interpretation, which brought the disputed territory within their own limits. They claimed that, east and west from a point three miles north of *any part* of the Merrimack River, their northern, like their southern boundary, was a straight line. What, then, was the most northerly part of the river? Captain Johnson, an experienced land-surveyor, and Captain Willard, with assistants, were appointed to explore the river, and fix that point. Captain Johnson knew more of the river than any public man in the Colony. On his first visit to New-England, he had traded there with the Indians; and perhaps his acquaintance with some of the chiefs might have facilitated the objects of the expedition. As the region to be explored was unsettled by Englishmen, the journey through a trackless wilderness was attended with no little risk and hardship. With two Indian guides, they traced the river to where it issues from Lake Winnipiseogee; and, at a point three miles further to the north, found the latitude to be 43° 40′ 12″.[1] The party started in June, 1652. They determined the latitude at the lake on the 1st of August; and they made their report to the Court on the 19th of October. Their bill of charges was paid, and Captain Johnson received twenty marks [£13. 6s. 8d.] as a gratuity for his "pajnes."

On the basis of this report, two experienced navigators were appointed to fix "the northerly bounds of our patent upon the sea "coast." They made their observations October 29, 1653, and set up the proper bounds on "Upper Clapboard Island,[2] about a

[1] Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 1, 109; Pt. 2, 242. Folsom's Documents, 65.

[2] Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 1, 207.

"quarter of a mile from the main in Casco Bay," a point so far north that it covered the whole territory in dispute. The settlements therein were comprised in the Massachusetts County of Norfolk, and were regularly represented, for the next twenty-six years, by their deputies in the General Court at Boston. So far as Maine is concerned, Massachusetts maintained its jurisdiction till the admission of the State into the Union in 1820. The extinguishment of the Gorges claim[1] has already been described (p. lv). New Hampshire was constituted a separate province by Charles II., in 1679.

As an indication of the nature and extent of Captain Johnson's public services, I will specify a few of them, commencing with the first session of 1652. May 27, he was made chairman of a Committee "to lay out the bounds of Andover" (iii. 272); and, May 31, he was put on a Committee to repair the Fort at Castle Island. (iii. 277.) At the same session, he was appointed a Commissioner to determine the northern boundary of the Colony (as before mentioned),—a duty which consumed nearly four months' time. October 19, he was placed on a commission "for the laying out of three thousand acres of land granted to Mr. Winthrop "and his wife, at Shawshin." (iii. 290.) In May, 1653, he served on three Committees: "To devise how the expenses of the Court "may be diminished" (iv. Pt. 1, 135); "To lay out the Indian "Plantation petitioned for by Mr. John Eliot" (idem. 137); and "To consider whether the Commissioners of the United Colonies "have power, by the articles of agreement, to determine the justice of offensive or vindictive war, and to engage the Colonies "therein." (Idem. 141.) In September he was placed on a Com-

[1] The Gorges claim is fully treated in Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 236–243, and v. 108–113. Its purchase, on the Crown's theory, made Massachusetts proprietor in fee. The School Fund of the State has been made chiefly by the sale of lands thus acquired in Maine.

mittee "to examine the ſtate of the College in all reſpects." Eight subjects of inquiry were specified. The sixth was "To direct "ſome way how the neceſſary officers, as ſteward, butler, and cook "may be provided for, that ſo the ſcholars commons may not be "ſo ſhort as now they are occaſioned thereby."[1] (iii. 331–2.) Captain Johnson (p. 168) alludes to complaints on the matter of the College Commons; yet he compliments Mr. Dunster, who was President from 1640 to 1654, for "having a good inſpection "into the well-ordering of things for the Students maintenance "(whoſe commons hath been very ſhort hitherto) by his frugal "providence hath continued them longer at their Studies then "otherwiſe they could have done; and verily it's great pity "ſuch ripe heads as many of them be, ſhould want means to "further them in learning."[2] As the Committee of 1653 was clothed "with full powers to act in all the premiſes, to regulate "and rectify any thing that is out of order in the ſaid College," no report of their proceedings was entered in the Records.

Some estimate may be formed of Captain Johnson's services, during the thirty years of his public life, from the foregoing schedule of duties laid upon him by the General Court in the two years mentioned, when the relations between the Colony and the home government were perhaps more cordial and friendly

[1] Mr. Savage (Winthrop, i. 310) gives a very droll confession, made in 1639, by Mrs. "President" Eaton, who was charged with keeping the College students on a mean and scanty diet. "The commons of the "students," Mr. Savage adds, "have often "been a matter of complaint; but, I believe, "have never since occupied the attention of "the Government of the State."

[2] Mr. Dunster appears not to have maintained the reputation of his commissary department to the end of his administration. He could say, however, "My poverty, but "not my will, consents." In a petition to the General Court in October, 1650 (iii. 214), it appears that his salary had not been paid for two years.

It is singular that Captain Johnson, with his ample pecuniary means and his appreciation of learning, did not educate one or more of his sons at the College. William, who subsequently took a leading part in the government of the Colony, was but fourteen years of age when his father came into public life; and a liberal education would have contributed much to his usefulness.

than at any earlier or later period. If the record of his useful and unobtrusive life had closed here, we should hardly have suspected that he possessed those qualities which fitted him to be a leader in the most critical period in the history of the Massachusetts Colony.

In the stormy epoch from 1661 to 1665, when the Charter and the liberties of the Colony were assailed by the combined ingenuity and malice of the restored English hierarchy, we find him uniformly put forward by his associates as one of the most prominent actors. Every thing dear to the colonists was at stake. A single act of concession on any vital issue, or one of rash imprudence, would have been fatal. A more difficult problem — how to maintain, on the one hand, the chartered rights of the Colony; and, on the other, to yield a nominal obedience to the demands of the Crown — was never presented to human ingenuity. That the Colony emerged from this trial with its Charter unrevoked and its liberties unimpaired, must be ascribed to the eminent ability and the sagacious diplomacy with which the colonists carried on their part of the controversy. I purpose to show the part which Captain Johnson took in these events.[1]

The restoration of Charles II., in 1660, was an event that promised nothing auspicious to the Massachusetts Colony. Charles I., in the later years of his reign, was too much occu-

[1] The following are a few of the intervening incidents of his life: —

In May, 1657, he was appointed Trial-justice for Middlesex County. (Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 1, 288.) In May, 1658, three hundred acres of land were granted to him, in consideration of his public services, to be laid out "where he can find it." (Idem. 339.) Omitting to locate his grant, he was warned, in May, 1660, that, if he neglects it further, he will lose it. (Idem. 425.) In June, 1661, the grant was confirmed and located. (iv. Pt. 2, 22.) In October, 1663, another grant of two hundred acres was made to him. (Idem. 90.) In October, 1659 (at the death of John Johnson, of Roxbury, who had held the position for eighteen years), Captain Johnson was appointed Surveyor-General (iv. Pt. 1, 391), an officer having in charge the arms, ordnance, ammunition, and military stores of the Colony. The appointment, which at first was temporary, was renewed at the Court of Election the following May.

pied in troubles at home, to give attention to American affairs. During the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, the colonists had in the great Puritan chieftain a friend and staunch supporter. For nearly twenty years, the Colony had been suffered to manage its own concerns, with but little dictation from the mother country.

Soon after the news of the Restoration was received, intelligence came that sundry petitions and complaints against the Colony had been preferred to the King in Council and to Parliament. At the session of the Court in June, 1661, a Committee was appointed, of which Captain Johnson was a member, "to "consider and debate such matter or thing of publick concern-"ment, touching our Patent, laws, privileges, and duty to his "Majesty as they in their wisdom shall judge most expedient." (iv. Pt. 2, 24.) Further charges against the Colony soon arrived, with an order from the King, that messengers be sent to England to make answer. The Court held a special session, December 31, 1661, when Mr. Simon Bradstreet and Mr. John Norton were named as the messengers, and some brief general instructions were agreed upon. The Court then adjourned, having appointed a committee of five, of which Captain Johnson was also a member, with full powers to do what remained more particularly to be done in "removing obstacles" (for the messengers named were very reluctant to accept the commission), preparing special instructions, drafting letters, raising funds, &c. "Whatsoever they "[the Committee] shall vnder theire hands act & determine, this "Court doth hereby engage to performe. And further, it is "ordered, that the Governor sign the commission & instructions "in the name of this Court, and that the secretary [of the Court] "be present wth the sajd Committee, to receive & take the result "of what they shall doe, and put the same vpon file, as the records "of this Court." (Idem. 39.)

The Committee met at "Ancor taverne," in Boston, January 4, 1661–2, and continued its sessions till February 7.[1] A ship ready to sail was detained by the Committee till further orders. Letters were drafted in the name of the Governor to his Majesty, to Lord Say-and-Seal, to the Earl of Clarendon, and to the Earl of Manchester; and also the messengers' commission and instructions. In the name of the General Court, with the signature of the Secretary, letters to Mr. Henry Pelham and nine other friends of the Colony in England were prepared. In case the agents should not embark, the Committee wrote a letter, in the name of the Governor, to Colonel Thomas Temple, and, in their own name, to Mr. Richard Saltonstall and others.

On the 28th of January, the agents signified their readiness to embark. The despatches were ready, with the exception of the official signature of the Governor. Governor Endicott and Deputy-Governor Bellingham had both been appointed members of the Committee; but, not favoring the measure of sending messengers to England, they declined, after repeated solicitations, to meet or act with the other members. They doubtless supposed, that this course, in connection with the reluctance of the agents, would result in defeating the project. Finding, however, that the Committee was not thus to be thwarted, the Governor flatly refused to sign the documents prepared. Whereupon the Committee addressed to the Governor the following letter: —

"Whereas the generall court hath feene meete to impower us to difpatch "their meffengers Mr. Bradftreet and Mr. Norton for the negotiation with his "Majefty, all which is now prepared, wee hope to their content, and themfelves "have declared their readines to attend that fervice, there remaining now noth-"ing wanting but your figning thereof. We underftand by the fecretary you "have a fecond time declined; now that we may not be found wanting in our

[1] The "Proceedings of the Committee" in full are in Hutchinson's Collection, pp. 345–374.

"duty, wee have againe ſent to your worſhip, deſiring your finall anſwer con-
"cerning the perfecting thereof according to the truſt repoſed in you by the
"generall court, which if you ſhall yet refuſe the whole buſines will be fruſ-
"trated, and wee feare his Majeſty greatly incenſed, our enemies advantaged,
"our friends diſcouraged, the chief power of this colony diſappointed, many of
"its eminent ſervants grieved, and above all our God diſhonored, which wee
"pray may be avoyded. So we reſt your friends and ſervants.

"Sir, Wee crave your anſwer by the gentlemen whom wee have intreated
"to be the bearers thereof, that no unneceſſary charge may accrue to the
"country by a further demurrage of the ſhip." (Hutchinson's Collection, p. 364-5.)

The firmness of the Committee was more than the Governor could resist. The result appears in a memorandum annexed: "This letter was ſent to the Governor by Mr Edw. Tyng and "Capt. Tho. Savage, who returned the anſwer that the ſecretary "ſhould come to the Governor on the morrow morning about 8 "of the clock, and he would ſign all as is deſired. Which was "done accordingly."

The messengers sailed on the 11th of February. They were graciously received by the King, and returned in the autumn, with a letter to the Colony, in which his Majesty expressed himself satisfied with the "loyalty, duty and good affection" contained in the addresses prepared by the Committee. He confirmed the Patent, and declared himself ready to renew it under the great seal of England, whenever they may desire it. He granted a full pardon for all offenses (except high treason) committed against him during the late troubles. He required, however, that all laws derogatory to his authority should be repealed; that free toleration should be extended to all religious denominations (except the Quakers, "whoſe principles," he said, "are incon-"ſiſtent with any kind of government"); that "all perſons of "good and honeſt lives and converſations be admitted to the "ſacrament of the Lords Supper, according to the Book of

"Common Prayer, and their children to baptism;" that "all "freeholders of competent estates, not vicious in conversation, "and orthodox in religion (though of different persuasions con-"cerning church government), may have their votes in the elec-"tion of all officers civil and military;"[1] and, lastly, that "this "our letter and declaration be communicated and published, "that all our loving subjects may know our grace and favor to "them."[2]

Early in 1664, the report came that several armed vessels were on their way from England, with four gentlemen on board, who, as Royal Commissioners, were delegated to hear and determine all matters of complaint. It was supposed that a demand would

[1] The King required of the colonists what he was not willing to grant his subjects at home. During his reign, dissenters in England, whatever might have been their lives and conversation, were under the most galling disabilities.

The law of May, 1631, by which none but church members could become freemen and exercise the elective franchise, was repealed August 3, 1664; and another law was passed, conforming, in part, to the above requirements. Any member of the Church of England, "of competent estate, and not "vicious in conversation," could become a freeman under this law; and some were subsequently admitted who did not belong to any church. "The first day of the Court "[May, 1665], there was about seventy "freemen admitted, sundry whereof were "not members of any particular church." (Hull's Diary, Archæologia Americana, iii. 217.) As it was necessary for the candidates for citizenship to obtain a certificate from a minister, indorsing their orthodoxy and correct conversation, probably not many churchmen and non-communicants availed themselves of their rights in this respect.

[2] The King's Letter, dated June 28, 1662, is printed in Hutchinson's Collection. 377-80, and, with some minor variations, in Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 164-6. The letter was received by the Court October 8, 1662 (idem. 58), but was not entered in the Records till nearly three years later, where it appears among the documents relating to the controversy with the Royal Commissioners.

In May, 1663, Isaac Cole, Constable, and Edward Converse, one of Captain Johnson's associates in the Board of Selectmen at Woburn, were arraigned; the former for refusing to take and publish the King's Letter, and the latter for having spoken of it as "Popery, &c." (Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 72.) The Court, after a hearing, discharged Converse, on the ground that his language did not "reflect "on his Majtys letter." Cole was "dismist "home at present till the Court shall order "his appearance againe," which was never done; and the complainant was allowed his bill of costs. These incidents show the feeling with which the King's demands were received by the people. It is evident that the Court was not zealous in punishing that class of misdemeanors.

be made for the Colony's Patent. A day of fasting and prayer was observed, and measures were taken to put the instrument beyond the reach of the King's Commissioners. On the 18th of May, the Court ordered: "Forasmuch as it is of great concernment to this "Commonwealth to keep safe and secret our Patent, it is ordered, "the Patent and duplicate belonging to the country, be forthwith "brought into Court, and that there be two or three persons ap-"pointed by each house to keep safe and secret the said Patent "and duplicates in two distinct places, as to the said Committee "shall seem most expedient."

That it might be more difficult for the Commissioners to ascertain where the two instruments were, they were intrusted to four persons, who were doubtless selected for their courage and discretion. Captain Johnson was one of this Committee.[1] "The "Secretary being sent for the Patent, brought it into the Court, "and delivered it to the Deputy-Governor, and the rest of the "Committee in the presence of the whole Court, and he was dis-"charged thereof." (Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 102.) The Patent was probably never returned to the custody of the Secretary; for in 1672, after the death of Captain Johnson, another person was appointed in his stead, "for the disposing of the Charter of this "Colony." Two of the four Commissioners[2] arrived in Boston Harbor on the 23d of July.

[1] His associates were Deputy-Governor Richard Bellingham, Major-General John Leverett, and Captain Thomas Clarke.

Bellingham was Governor the following year. General Leverett, one of Cromwell's old soldiers, was then Speaker of the House of Deputies, Deputy-Governor in 1671, and Governor from 1673 to 1678. Capt. Clarke was Speaker of the Deputies in 1665.

[2] Col. Richard Nichols, Col. George Cartwright, Sir Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick. Of these persons, Maverick was the most obnoxious. When Winthrop's company arrived, in 1630, they found him living on Noddle's Island (now East Boston). Johnson speaks of him (p. 37) "as "an enemy of the Reformation at hand, "being strong for the Lordly Prelaticall "power." In the list of persons who desired, in October, 1630, to become freemen, his name stands first, and Johnson's second. He was not, however, admitted till October, 1632. He had no sympathy with the opinions and purposes of the settlers; and, after

The narrative of the Royal Commissioners' proceedings, and of the wise and skillful diplomacy by which all their hostile purposes were thwarted in the Massachusetts Colony, is one of the most entertaining and instructive chapters in New-England history; but it is too long to be repeated here. A connected statement, with the documents at large, fill a hundred and sixteen pages in the Colonial Records, iv. Pt. 2, 157–273.[1]

It is not possible to ascertain from the Records the precise amount of influence which each individual exerted in the negotiations with the Commissioners. The business was chiefly done in Committees; but, as these were usually composed of the same persons, it is evident who were the ablest and the leading men of the Colony. No person was more uniformly placed on these Committees than Captain Johnson. This fact is somewhat remarkable, as he was not a Magistrate, nor had he a seat at the Council-board. His official position was simply that of Deputy for the town of Woburn. We have seen that in June, 1661, he was placed on a Committee to consider all matters relating to "our Patent, laws, privileges and duty to his Majesty;" in January, 1661–62, to give instructions to Bradstreet and Norton, messengers to England; and in May, 1664, to take charge of the Patent of the Colony. In May, 1665, when the Royal Commissioners had opened their budget of instructions and complaints,

years of controversy and wrangling, he returned to England, a bitter enemy of the Colony.

A disgusting narrative of Maverick's attempt, in 1639, to improve the breed of his negro slaves, is recorded in Josselyn's Voyages (p. 28), and is copied by Mr. George H. Moore into his "Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts," 1866 (p. 8), without an intimation as to who Maverick was, or of his relation to the Massachusetts Colony. Maverick was an Episcopalian: and yet ninety-nine out of a hundred of Mr. Moore's readers will infer (for the book is adapted to a latitude where the details of New-England history are not known), that the incident is an illustration of Puritan morals and manners.

[1] See also a very full account of the Royal Commissioners' proceedings in Palfrey's New-England, ii. 578–632, and in Hutchinson's Massachusetts, i. 211–234.

Captain Johnson was placed on two other most important Committees: one, which had in charge the whole subject in controversy; namely, "to consider of all the papers deliuered into "this Court by Colonell Richard Nicholls, & the rest of his "majestjes commissioners, & to present a full & meet answer "vnto the whole to this whole Court for their approbation." (iv. Pt. 2, 146.) This Committee so managed the case for the Colony, that they succeeded in evading the instructions and defeating the purposes of the Commissioners. The papers prepared by them show an ability and a tact which have never been surpassed in earlier or later diplomacy. Thomas Danforth was probably the writer of most of these papers; but their subject-matter was doubtless the united deliberations of the whole Committee.[1]

[1] From original drafts and memoranda, preserved in the Massachusetts archives, it is probable that Captain Johnson was author of some of these papers. The following draft (vol. cvi. p. 80) of an address to King Charles II., evidently in his handwriting, contains expressions which are found in his book, and interesting statistical facts, such as he was in the habit of recording. The paper, which has no date or name of author attached, was recognized as Johnson's by Rev. Joseph B. Felt, who arranged these documents; and he has so designated it in the index. Mr. Felt placed it among the papers of 1665; but I think, from the subject-matter, that it should have been arranged under the date of 1661. It speaks of the Colony's "33 years experience;" and Johnson's habit was, in similar expressions, to date the beginning of the Colony at 1628 (see ante, p. xiv).

It has already been noticed, that Captain Johnson was, in the best sense of the term, a democrat, and a zealous defender of the people's prerogatives. On the accession of Charles II., addresses, signed by the Governor, were sent to the King and to Parliament by the Court. The following paper seems to be the draft of an address which it was proposed to send to his Majesty from "the whole body of Freemen and others "inhabiting the Massachusetts in New England." The idea is one which would be likely to originate with Captain Johnson. The paper does not appear in the Records; and, as addresses had previously been sent, probably did not pass the two Houses. The manuscript has but few erasures and interlineations. It is here printed with modern orthography and punctuation: —

"*To our dread Sovereign Lord, Charles II., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.*

"We, who under your Majesty's royal grace and favor are continued peaceable possessors of that part of America commonly called New England, humbly present, —

"That, among the many colonies of the English nation in these parts of America, this, not the least (whose serene structure hath hitherto flourished under an unblem-

The duties of the other important Committee (idem. 151), to which allusion has been made, were to draw up the connected

ished government), began in a sterile desert, void of any staple commodity to procure food or raiment.

"Notwithstanding the first founders of this rare edifice, trampling under foot all discouraging difficulties, erected our present ecclesiastic and civil policy with the expense of no small estates, and encountering with many difficulties, — their fill of bread being very chargeable, — yet were they not so penurious as to possess the Indians' land without purchase.

"Howbeit, so amiable was this government to your Majesty's loyal subjects, who were conscientiously religious, that this wilderness was soon populated with the transportation of about 15,000 souls; and at this day increased (through the Lord's blessing), as is supposed, to near 80,000 persons. By which means your Highness's dominions are enlarged with a more honest interest in America, than any prince of Europe hath hitherto had.

"Nor may your Majesty repent the plenary power given and granted by Patent to the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants, and Freemen of this Colony, seeing it hath hitherto flourished under the same. And were it not that we fear our barbarous language will be irksome to your Royal ear, some small relating of bygone actions would surely dispossess our adversaries of your Majesty's intentions to alter our present government in the least.

"For experience will speak for us, and declare, that so remote a part as is this newfound world (which cannot fetch fresh intelligence of your Majesty's will and pleasure, in point of government, every day) may, notwithstanding, be continued stable; being furnished with fit persons, men of knowledge in the mystery of godliness, and skilled in the wisdom of winning souls to wait on the churches, and administer the sacraments to those whom the Lord hath appointed. And as for ceremonies to vegetate the people's devotion, well may they be spared; seeing 'twas zealous affection to worship the Lord turned this wilderness, with indefatigable labor, into towns, — nor can any be erected where an able, orthodox, and pious ministry is wanting [compare p. 177]. More completeness cannot be expected by any innovation.

"Now as to civil policy: It was organized in Europe, natural to our English nation; and so zealous are the people affected with it, that the most learned lawyers have been preferred to the highest places of governing. Notwithstanding, should any complain of oppression, either by arbitrary power or tyrannous laws, it would but declare their thirsting after the honor of ruling rather than the duty of obedience. And surely to bring into place of governing such as deviate from others, by increasing the number of electors, would but enervate this comely structure, and put your Majesty's liege people upon a second peregrination, after so many signals of the Lord's blessing upon the work to admiration, — in wonderful preservations by sea; thinning the natives by a sore mortality, and subduing the most stout and cruellest nations among them, when they rose up against us (and that by a handful); stilling the contentions of both French and Dutch; keeping us alive in dearth.

"Should any persuade a change, lest, through the imbecility or meanness of the persons governing, bold intruders would overtop them, or some foreign invaders wrest this part of America out of your

statement, which appears in the Colonial Records, iv. Pt. 2, 157–273.[5]

Majesty's hands, — as to the former of these, the greatest complainants against us are chiefly such as have felt the force of justice's sword in their contempt of authority; and, for the latter, we have been (through the Lord's goodness) encouraged, even in our extreme poverty, to fortify, — one Castle having cost us more than £45.000, besides other forts in the frontier towns. Nor are your Majesty's subjects here of such a pusillanimous spirit as to desert their own and your Majesty's right, so hardly attained.

"For although the place and people be poor, yet this benefit may accrue to your Highness; namely, increase of shipping (the strength, under God, of our English nation), seeing both building and victualling them may here be had, — a fair opportunity to navigate the western world.

"And now we most humbly beseech your Majesty, admit of our pleading as subjects of the Prince. Suffer us not to be yoked again with the Hierarchy, from whose prevailing power we fled into another world, where a small corner of a wilderness shall content us; while they possess the most habitable and fertile parts of the earth.

"As for our fidelity, your Majesty hath more than our bare word, if 33 years' experience speak any thing. And now, after that trusty teacher hath a while longer informed, we expect, with honest old Mordecai, to find place in your Majesty's chronicle. Remaining to perpetuity

"Your Majesty's loyal subjects, the whole body of Freemen and others inhabiting the Massachusetts, in New-England.

"Put the question, —

"Whether the freemen of this jurisdiction, and others who may enjoy the benefit of this peaceable government, ought not to present their Prince with the true state of things, as is here expressed, before they enter upon any alteration in the least.

"So shall God be owned in his providences, his Majesty find us true to him and our own principles, God's people encouraged, and our consciences quieted."

The estimate, contained in this paper, that the population of the Massachusetts Colony (which included what is now New Hampshire and Maine) was 80,000 in 1661, is an important historical fact, and one which, I believe, has never before been brought to light. If it had been observed by Mr. Felt, it would have filled an hiatus in his paper on the "Population of Massachusetts," printed in the "Collections of the American Statistical Association," i. 121–214. To determine the population at this period, Mr. Felt made a careful and detailed examination of such data as he had, which were very meagre, and was inclined to put the estimate much below what is here stated by Captain Johnson, than whom perhaps there is no better authority.

Mr. Felt reasons thus: The Commissioners, in 1665, stated that the militia consisted of 4,000 foot and 400 horse. Multiplying these by 5½, he makes the population 23.467. He thinks Randolph's estimate in 1676, that the population was 150,000, was an extravagant conclusion, and without any data known at this day. So also he regards as extravagant Chalmers's statement, that in 1673 the population of all New England was 120,000. "These statements," he says, "like several others given by foreign-"ers, which so much exceed any founded on "facts, that the mind is sometimes in doubt "what to believe, and the writer what to "record, as to the population of New Eng-

One of the instructions to the Commissioners was to require the Massachusetts Colony to furnish them with a map of the territory which it laid claim to, and also with a statement of the claims which its neighbors made to any portion of the same; the object being to draw out the facts of the controversy relating to the northern boundary. The Commissioners, on the 15th of March, 1664–5 (the day on which Governor Endicott died), made this demand in a letter from Rhode Island. The letter was duly received; but what action, if any, was taken in the matter, does not appear till the meeting of the General Court, which convened May 3. The Commissioners, who had arrived in Boston, then repeated the demand, and added in a postscript: "This mapp or draught w^th^in mentioned, wee desire to be made "with all exactnes possible, & wth all speed convenient deliuered "to us; for w^th^out it we shall neither well vnderstand your bounds, "nor be vnderstood in discoursing of them." (Idem. 183.)

The Colony had no intention of submitting this question to the decision of the Commissioners; yet the Court appointed Captain Johnson, and William Stevens, a Deputy for Gloucester, to prepare the map (idem. 145),[1] and notified the Commissioners that

"land for over a century of its first exist-"ence" (p. 141.)

Johnson states (p. 31) that 21,200 persons arrived in the Massachusetts Colony during the first fifteen years, — from 1628 to 1643. Some of these persons returned to England, or went to other colonies. In the above address, he says that "this wilderness was "soon populated with the transportation "of about 15,000 souls." Mr. Felt believes (p. 139), without stating his data, that "more "than one half the immigrants returned to "Europe, or went to different sections of "America." I have met with no facts which will sustain so large an estimate. Whether the figures above cover the same period, cannot be ascertained, and is not important, for there was little immigration after 1643. They point, however, to the conclusion, that about two-thirds of the immigrants made a permanent residence in the Massachusetts Colony.

[1] Captain Johnson's associates on this Committee were Thomas Danforth, who was a Magistrate; Edward Rawson, the Colonial Secretary; and Anthony Stoddard, a Deputy for Boston.

[1] The Committee were authorized to employ artists to aid them; and, June 1, the Court ordered the Treasurer to pay William Reed, of Boston, for work on the map, ten pounds, "in the best pay that is in his hands,

they "will ſpeedily receive ſatiſfaction therein." (Idem. 187.) May 24, the map was finished, and was delivered with a declaration by the Court, that they were prepared to show the reasons for their claims to the boundaries therein described. (Idem. 214.)

It appears in "A Narrative about New-England," made by the Commissioners, that this map, prepared under the supervision of Captain Johnson,[1] abated none of the claims previously asserted for the northern boundary. The "Narrative" says, —

"They [the Massachusetts Government] cauſed at length a mapp of their "territoryes to be made, but it was made in a chamber by direction and gueſs: "in it they claim fort Albany, and beyond it all the land to the ſouth ſea. By "their ſouth ſea line they intrench upon the colonys of New Plymouth, Road "Iſland and Conecticote; and in the eaſt they have uſurped Capt. Maſons and "Sir Ferdinando Gorges pattents; and ſaid that the commiſſioners had nothing "to doe betwixt them and Mr Gorges." (Hutchinson's Collection, 419.)

Other and more exciting topics of controversy followed in rapid succession, and the question of boundary was soon lost sight of. The Commissioners, baffled in their purposes at every point, de-

"upon the delivery of one draught more than "he hath already given in to this Court." (Idem. 155.)

No copy of this map, of which there were several drafts, is in the Massachusetts archives, and probably not in existence; as the papers of the Commissioners were captured by the Dutch, and were not recovered. (Hutchinson's Mass. i. 229.) If a copy was sent to England at the time, it is doubtless preserved in the State-paper Office.

[1] William Stevens was in no way concerned in fixing the northern boundary, and probably not in preparing the map. His name appears in the business of the Court, during the four years he was Deputy, only in this instance, and one other, which was quite unimportant. In 1667, at Salem, he was fined twenty pounds for seditious expressions. In October, 1667, his wife petitioned the General Court for a remission of the penalty, which had been collected by distraint. The Court, in answer, "judge that "the penalty inflicted was rather beneath "than above the merit of the offence;" yet, in consideration of "herſelf and family in "her old age," and "the craziness of the "man in respect to his underſtanding," it was ordered, that the cattle and other property taken be restored for her especial benefit. (iv. Pt. 2, 353.) There being a delay in the restoration of the property, a similar order was subsequently passed by the Magistrates, which was defeated in the House of Deputies. The petition (in autograph), and the final action thereon, which are not given in the Records, are in the Massachusetts archives, vol. cvi.

parted in eminent disgust from Massachusetts, to other colonies where their authority was held in some respect.[1] From this time to the accession of that Popish sovereign, James II., and the abrogation of the Charter, the Colony had comparative quiet.

In October, 1665, Captain Johnson was put on a Committee to survey the lands about Quinsigamond Pond, now Worcester, for the purpose of laying out a plantation. (iv. Pt. 2, 291). He had now nearly reached the allotted limit of human life, and probably

[1] Colonel Nichols was a man of some ability and discretion; and, when afterwards he became Governor of New York, kept up a friendly correspondence with the Massachusetts Colony.

Carr went to Delaware, and thence to England, where he died on the day of his arrival.

Cartwright, on his passage home, was captured by the Dutch, and stripped of all he possessed, including the papers of the Commissioners.

Maverick was seen in Massachusetts in 1667, "which," says Hutchinson, "is the last account given of him." May 27, 1668, the Court referred a petition of Maverick to the County Court at Boston, "impowering "them to remit or abate the fine, as they "shall see cause." (iv. Pt. 2, 381.) To what this fine relates, or whether Maverick was in the Colony at the time, does not appear in the Records.

On the Tory theory of the divine right of kings, the conduct of our ancestors in 1665 as on many other occasions, cannot be defended. They were undutiful, if not rebellious, subjects. But in the light of subsequent events, and of modern and truer theories of government, their conduct needs no apology. The Stuart line of kings, with whom they were ever in controversy, was, shortly after these events, discarded by England herself; and a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," for which our fathers here contended, has become the hope, if not the heritage, of the civilized world.

The founders of the Massachusetts Colony, and their descendants down to the period of the Revolutionary war, were probably the best trained and most skilled diplomatists of their time. They usually had some question at issue with the home government, which involved the dearest interests, if not the very existence, of the Colony. The best minds made these questions a special study, and hence were more than a match for opponents, whose studies were divided among other, and, to what appeared in England, more important, subjects. When every resource of argument and delay had been exhausted, the colonists knew how gracefully to yield to the logic of necessity; and, while they gave up the form, to save the substance, of that for which they had been contending.

The eminent ability which characterized the state papers of the American Revolution, has often been mentioned as a matter of surprise. The explanation is seen in the fact, that the crisis came upon a people who had been trained, for a century and a half, in the best school of statesmanship.

left to his younger associates the labor of performing the duty. The work was not done; and in May, 1667, another Committee was appointed, on which his name was still retained. (Idem. 341.) This Committee made a report in November, 1668; and still a third Committee was raised, to carry out the recommendations of the report, from which his name was omitted. (Idem. 408.)[1]

In October, 1667, he was put on a Committee to draw up regulations with regard to shipbuilding (idem. 345); an incident which may possibly have a bearing on the opinion expressed on page lix., that shipbuilding was an occupation he had followed in England.

In 1666, he served on three Committees; in 1667, on four; in 1668, on none, but was appointed Chairman of the County Commissioners of Middlesex; in 1669, on three; in 1670, on one; and in 1671, the last year of his life, his name does not appear in the Records, except in the list of Deputies. His health had evidently failed. He died April 23, 1672, in the seventy-third or seventy-fourth year of his age.

He was mentioned, at the first meeting of the Court subsequent to his death, as having collected materials for a history of the Colony;[2] and in October, 1672, his successor was appointed "for disposing of the Charter of this Colony."[3] (Idem. 542.)

[1] I find no positive evidence that he ever visited a locality so far inland as Worcester. It appears, however, from a record (idem. 556) made more than a year subsequent to his death, that he had served on a Committee, with Major Simon Willard and Thomas Danforth, "to order the prudential affairs "of Lancaster for many years," or, since May, 1657. (iv. Pt. 1, 296.)

[2] See ante, p. vii.

[3] In the early trials for witchcraft, Captain Johnson opposed the action of the courts, and one of the persons (the second) who suffered made an acknowledgment of his services in her behalf.

Mrs. Hibbins, the widow of William Hibbins, of Boston, and a sister of Governor Bellingham, was tried, convicted, and hung as a witch, in 1656. Her husband had been a merchant of note, and one of the most prominent men in the Colony. He was Deputy for Boston in 1641 and 1642, Assistant from 1643 to 1654, and had represented the Colony as its agent in England. He

Major William Johnson, his third son, was elected Deputy for Woburn in 1674, 1676, and each subsequent year till 1684, when he was chosen an Assistant, and hence became a Magistrate. He succeeded his father also as Clerk of the Town of Woburn, as Selectman, as commander of the militia, and as "Commissioner to end small causes." He seems also to have inherited the mental and moral qualities of his father. His handwriting in the Woburn Records so much resembles his father's, that it is difficult to determine where the one ended and the other commenced. The records of separate meetings were then not signed by the Clerk, as is the custom at the present day. Like his father, he bore a conspicuous part in defending the chartered rights of the Colony.

The long-dreaded danger again appeared in a new form. At the instigation of Edward Randolph, a writ of *quo warranto* issued against the Charter of the Massachusetts Colony in July, 1683, and was served the following November; but final judgment adverse to the Colony was not entered till October, 1685. Every resource of remonstrance, argument, and delay was em-

died in 1654. She was first convicted at a jury trial. The Magistrates set aside the verdict, and the case then came before the General Court, where she was again condemned to death. Her body was examined for witch-marks, and her chests and boxes were rummaged for puppets. Hutchinson (i. 173) says that "losses in the latter part of his life "reduced her husband's estate [she left, however, a good property], and increased the "natural crabbedness of the wife's temper, "which made her turbulent and quarrelsome, "and at length made her so odious to her "neighbors, as to cause some of them to accuse her of witchcraft." She was convicted on such evidence as this: She saw two persons conversing in the street. She came up and stated that she knew they were talking about her. How could she have known this if she had not been a witch? Hutchinson intimates that there was a deep sympathy felt in her behalf; and "some observed "solemn marks of Providence set upon those "who were very forward to condemn her."

She thus acknowledged the services of Captain Johnson, and of the Secretary of the Colony, in her behalf, in the Codicil she annexed to her Will three days before her execution: "I do earnestly desire my loving "friends, Captain Johnson and Mr. Edward "Rawson, to be added to the rest of the "gentlemen mentioned as overseers of my "Will." (Upham's Salem Witchcraft, 1867, i. 425.)

ployed by the colonists to avert this calamity. In these proceedings, Major Johnson was a stanch supporter of the Charter, and incurred the especial enmity of the agents of the King. He was re-elected Assistant in 1685, and again in 1686, although the Charter of the Colony had been abrogated. In the "Articles "of high Misdemeanor exhibited against a Faction of the Gen-"eral Court," drawn by Randolph in February, 1681, Major Johnson had the honor to be mentioned by name.[1] In September, 1685, Randolph submitted a list of "well-disposed persons "fit to be concerned in the temporary government of Massachu-"setts Bay;" and also a scheme of a joint House of Assembly, in which Massachusetts should be entitled to twenty Deputies. He mentioned the towns which should be represented. From this list he excluded Woburn, which had previously sent two Deputies; while he included many smaller towns, or grouped them together to send jointly one Deputy.[2] He knew that Woburn, either separately or in union with other towns, would send Major William Johnson, a person with whom this marplot of tyranny was not ambitious to be brought into further contact. The scheme was not accepted; for the King had resolved to govern the Colony without any representative bodies.

This period of abject despotism was of short duration. James II. was deposed; and William of Orange came to the throne in 1689. The event was hailed by the colonists with unbounded joy.[3] Andros, Randolph, and Dudley were forthwith excluded

[1] Hutchinson's Collection, 526.

[2] Palfrey's New-England, iii. 483.

[3] At the uprising of the populace in Boston, April 19, 1689, when the Declaration of the Prince of Orange was received, Major Johnson, with other members of the Board of Assistants elected in 1686, addressed an order to the commander of the Fort on Castle Island, to deliver up the same, with its stores, to an officer designated; and the order was complied with. The next day, "A Council for the safety of the "people and conservation of the peace" was organized, of which Major Johnson was a member. (Hutchinson's Mass. i. 333-340.)

from office, and imprisoned; and a claim was set up by the colonists for a full restoration of their ancient privileges. William Johnson was one of a zealous party who stood out resolutely for the old Charter; and, failing to secure this, would have no Charter at all. Increase Mather, who was at that time in England, used his best exertions to secure its restoration; but, finding this impossible, his next endeavor was to preserve as much of it as he could. The feature most objected to in the new Charter was, that the Governor, his Deputy, and the Secretary, were to be appointed by the Crown, instead of being elected by the people. That these provisions might be made acceptable to the colonists, the Crown graciously asked Mr. Mather to nominate suitable persons for these official positions. The nominations so made were ratified, and the persons commissioned. Sir William Phipps, a former parishioner of Mr. Mather, was Governor, and the Council was composed chiefly of the Assistants who had been appointed by the people in 1686, after the old Charter was abrogated. Several prominent persons, however, in the former board of Assistants, were not nominated, from their well-known hostility to the new Charter.[1] Among these were William Johnson, Elisha Cooke, Thomas Oakes, and Thomas Danforth.[2] Major Johnson appears to have taken no further part in the government of the Colony. He died at Woburn, May 22, 1704, aged seventy-four years.

It remains only to append the Will of Captain Edward Johnson, copied from the original (in his own handwriting) now in the Probate Files of Middlesex County; with abstracts of the Wills of several of his sons.

[1] The first Council was appointed, on Mr. Mather's nomination, by the Crown, and the persons were named in the new Charter; but subsequent Councils were elected by the representatives of the people, subject to the approval of the Governor. Elisha Cooke was elected to the Council in 1693, but was rejected by Sir William Phipps.

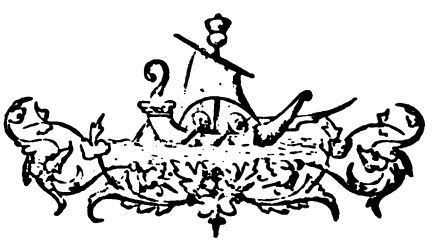
[2] Hutchinson's Mass. i. 366.

To these is added a "Genealogy of the Descendants of Captain Johnson" to the fourth generation, prepared by Mr. JOHN ALONZO BOUTELLE expressly for this work. Mr. BOUTELLE has made genealogy a specialty; and, residing in Woburn, he has had the best opportunities for making a correct list. Having given to the subject no attention, I can assume none of the credit or responsibility of the compiler's work.

To the memory of a friend, who was a diligent student of history, and, early in the war of the rebellion, rendered a patriot's service by his Historical Research into the military capabilities of an oppressed race; who, a successful merchant, found time, amid the cares of business, to cherish a taste for bibliography, and for general culture; who left behind him a noble library, collected with rare skill; and whose heart and life were good, beautiful, and true, — this work, undertaken partly at his suggestion, is affectionately inscribed.

W. F. P.

BOSTON ATHENÆUM,
Sept. 26, 1867.



WILL OF EDWARD JOHNSON.

The 15th of the 3d Moneth, 1671.

I, Edward Johnſon, of the Town of Wooburn, in New England, make this my will and Teſtiment, in forme & maner following, being in good and ſound remembrance, for which ye Lord be Bleſſed: —

I doe hereby Renounce and make voyd all former wills by me made; and doe declare, that, through Faith in Chriſt Jeſus, I hope to have the ſight of my Saviour to all Eternity.

Impr. I give to Suſan, my well beloved wife, ſix pounds per Annum, to be payd her oute of the Rents of my lands in Ould England, by the Hands of my Executors, duering her Natural Life; as allſoe the ſole uſe of the Houſe and land wherein I now dwell, together wth all ſtocks of corne, and all my Howſehould ſtuff, together wth all my Cattell; and, after her deceaſe, to com and remayn to thoſe I have in this my will appoynted itt.

2dly. I give and bequeath to my Eldeſt Son, Edward, one parcell of medow lying in the Towne of Wooburn, at a place called long medow, at the South End thereof.

3dly. I give and bequeath to my Grandchild Edward, Son of my Son Edward, one quarter parte of my Farme lying in the pariſh of Herron Hill, in ould England, to him & his heirs forever, provided his father ſhall have the Benifit thereof till he come to the age of 21 yeares, excepting that parte his Grandmother is to haue duering her life.

4ly. I give and bequeath to my Son George three pounds, to be paid him in Boords by my Executors; to my Son Mathews Eldeſt ſon, one quarter part of my Farme aboue expreſſed, to him & his heiers for ever.

5ly. I give & bequeath to my Grandchild George, ſon of my ſon George, one Dwelling-Howſe & Orchard, lying in the parriſh of Heron Hill, at a place called

Water-ham, to him & his heiers for ever. Thefe two Eldeft Sons had theire portions enlarged while I lived.

6ly. It. I give & bequeath to my Grandchildren William & Edward, fons of my fone William, each of them one quarter parte of the Farm aboue expreffed in the parrifh of Hiron Hill; their father to have the benifit thereof till they com to Age.

7ly. It. I give and bequeath to my Sons William and Mathew all my plate, equally to be devided between them after theire mothers Deceafe, whom I will & ordayne Executors of this my Will — my fons I meane.

8ly. It. I give and bequeath to my Grandchild John, fon of my fon John, one finall tenement lying in the Parifh of Hiron Hill, with a parcell of woodland atjoyning to it, to him & his heires for ever.

9ly. It. I give and bequeath to my fon John one parcel of land lying in Wooborne, which I purchafed of John Low; and alfoe another parcel lying in Wooborne, which I purchafed of Baptife Smedly, — both which I give to my fon John, to him & his heiers for ever.

10ly. I give to my Grandchild William, fon of my fon John, to him & his heiers for ever, the howfe wherein I now dwell, and all the land which was given by Charles-Towne, excepting that parcell of it which I difpofed in my life time to my fons William and Mathew; provided hee, within one yeare after his entry vppon the fayd houfe and Land, pay, in currant pay of the Country, fiveteen pound to James Prentize, fon of James Prentize, my Grandchild: And the like Som to John Amee, fon of John Amee, my Grandchild; as alfoe I give him the nereft pece of woodland, given me by Wooborn, that lyes to this Farme; & that no ftrip or waft be made, till he am to injoy the fame.

11ly. I give & Bequeath to Katherine, Daughter of my Son Edward; and Katherine, Daughter of my Son George; & Hefter, Daughter of my Son William; & Rebecah, daughter of my Son Matthew; and Bethiah, Daughter of my Son John; & Sufan, daughter of my Son in law, Jams Prentize; & Hannah, an other Daughter of my faid Son in lawe; & the Eldeft daughter of my Son in lawe, John Amee, — to thefe Eaight I give my Howfhould ftuff, corne, & cattall, after their grandmother's difceafe, or the valew thereof, to bee equally dyvided among them.

12ly: I give feven pound, to bee taken out of the firft years rent of my Howfes & land in ould England, which fhall purchafe Seven Rings of Gould, the which I give to my Daughters and Daughters in lawe, each of them one. The reft of my Goods & Land undiffpofed in this my will, I give to my Executors.

Finally, my will is, that thofe who are Infeoffed wth my Land in England fhall diffpofe of it as I have declared and given it in this my Will.

Further, my will is, feeing vppon my own knowledg my Son George purchafed of my Son Edward & his wife her part of a Howfe in England, & payd them both to theire fatiffaction, — Therefore my will is, that none their children fhall have noe benifit of this my will, till they have made fuch Affuerrance of the Sale as my Son George doth Require.

Witnefs to this my Will,
WILLIAM LOCK,
SAMUEL BLOGGET.

Writen with my own hand,
EDW: JOHNSON.

An inventory of Captain Johnson's estate, dated April 20 (*sic*), 1672, and returned May 11, 1672, is on file, and gives the whole amount of his property as £706,05,06. His debts (including funeral charges, £4, and "Doctours" bill) were £9,10,00. His homestead was apprised at £159; and "rents, which, by "letters, we suppose to be due in England," at £132. Houses and lands in England (the rents of which were £15 per annum) were apprised at £300. It appears in his Will, that during his life he had given portions of his English and home estate to his children. The above sums, in the currency of that period, represent much larger amounts than at the present day.

His wife Susan, in her Will, dated Dec. 14, 1689, and signed with her mark, says: "I do give and bequeath to my Son John, all my right and due that was given me by my husband, Captain Edward Johnson, I having what I stand in need of for the comfort of my life; and do by this Will make my Son John whole and sole Executor of this my Will, who hath taken care of me since my husband's decease, and with whom I now dwell; and I judge it to be his due, and have hereunto set my hand and seal."

ABSTRACTS OF THE WILLS OF CAPTAIN EDWARD JOHNSON'S SONS.

I. Edward Johnson (eldest son), of Charlestown, shipwright.

Date June 22, 1692; proved June 12, 1693.

He gives to his wife Katherine the use of all his estate,—dwelling-house, garden, shipyard, &c. After her decease, he gives to his son Edward, £5; to his son William, £5; to his daughter, Katherine Taylor, £10; to his son John, if living, and he returns home to New-England, his dwelling-house, garden, shipyard, and all such other property as may be remaining at his wife's decease. But, if his son John be dead, he gives all to his daughter Katherine's two sons, Richard Taylor and John Taylor.

He appoints his brother, Major William, and his daughter Katherine, to be overseers of his Will.

The inventory of his estate shows property amounting to £120. 15*s*., and debts amounting to £85. 10*s*.; leaving the net value of his estate £35. 5*s*. He signed his Will — which is in the handwriting of his brother William — by making his mark. He was about fourteen years of age when the family came to New-England. Common schools had not then been established in Massachusetts Bay.

II. Major William Johnson (third son).

Date May 10, 1695. Inventory made June 17, 1704; proved Sept. 11, 1704.

"Firſt, I give my Soule in to the hands of God Father, Son and holy ſperit, three glorious perſons, but one Infinite and Eternal Eſence, hoping for Salvation in and throu the merrits of Jeſus Chriſt alone, and doe fermly beleue that, though this Body of mine be how euer deſtroyed, yet at that greate day when all muſt apeere before God, I ſhall with theſe eys ſee God and be in his preſants to all eternity.

"2d. I give my Body to the earth there to be decently Buried at the deſcreſtion of my executors and overſeers, in hopes of a glorious Reſaraction; and, after my juſt debts and ſeveral charges are ſatteſſyd, the reſt of that eſtate God of his bounty hath lent me, I give and deſpoſe as followeth."

He gives to his wife Esther the sole use of the homestead and the lands adjacent. To his son William's eldest son, William, and, in case of his death without issue, then to the next two sons, Benjamin and Noah, equally between them, all his housing, orchard, land, meadows, pastures, and all he leaves for the use of his wife, to them and their heirs for ever; provided, that his son William shall have the sole use of the same during his life; and, if his son William leaves no male heirs, then his son Edward's eldest son, and his son Ebenezer's twins, shall inherit all, they paying to the daughter of his son William £100.

To his son Edward he gives all the lands adjoining the house, "for the which "I have given him a deed of gift," with other lots; and to Edward's son Edward a certain piece of land. To his sons, Ebenezer, Benjamin, and Josiah, he gives various tracts of land, which are described.

His son Joseph being in a distracted state, he appoints his son Ebenezer to be his guardian, and gives, in trust for Joseph, certain lots of land. In case Joseph comes to his right mind, he is to have and manage the property himself. After his decease, if he have no children, the same shall go to the twins of Ebenezer and Edward's son Edward.

He gives to his daughter Esther £30, and thirty more within four years, and twenty shillings for a ring; to her four daughters a noble [6*s.* 8*d.*] apiece; and to her son, Seth Wyman, certain lands. To each of his daughters, Susanna and Abigail, he gives £80 and one of his rings, and one-third of his household goods. To his son William's son Noah he gives certain lots of land. As his son William's share is more than double that of the other children, he requires that William shall build a barn for his brother Joseph.

"My will is that my ſon Williams wife have that £5 given me by her father "Gardner in his will as being overſeer, and £5 more out of my eſtate; and "that my ſon Williams children, that is to ſay, Eſther, Mary, Hannah, Ben-"jamin, and Noah, have five ſhillings apece. I alſo give to Ebenezers two "daughtors, and to Edwards thre daughtors, fiue ſhillings apece, and to Ed-"wards ſecond ſon a noble."

He appoints his sons Ebenezer and Edward to be executors, to whom he gives all his property not otherwise disposed of; and he makes Benjamin and Josiah overseers. "And thus having finiſhed my Will, I doe exhort and Re-"quire all my children to live in peace one with another; and that, above all, "they Honor and loue the God of their father and Grandfather, and to walk in "their ſtepps ſo farr as they have walked aright with God; and then I pray the "God of loue and peace to be with all. Amen."

In the Codicil he says that his son William lives on his estate, and that he has paid some of William's debts, in consideration of his carrying on the farm. He gives to his daughters Susanna and Abigail, or either of them remaining unmarried, the use of the parlor, the garden, and the inclosure under the hill, with all the fruit on the ledges, if they please. He provides also that none of the children, to whom he has given land, shall have power to sell any of it, "but it shall remain to the male heirs of the Johnsons forever." His Will and Codicil are in his own handwriting.

In the Inventory, his "moveable" estate is appraised at £171..8s. As he made specific disposal of his real estate in his Will, no appraisal of it was returned. He evidently had a large property for that period.

III. Lieutenant Matthew Johnson (youngest son).

Date Nov. 2, 1693; proved July 17, 1696.

He gives to his wife Rebecca the use of homestead and lands adjacent, and one-third of the household furniture.

To his eldest son, Matthew, he gives his house "that is now building," and certain lands, which, "with what his Grandfather gave him in England, will "make him a full double portion." To his son Samuel he gives certain lands, which are described. To his son Henry he gives the homestead, and certain lots of land, and provides that the sons shall pay annually certain articles and sums of money to their mother while she continues a widow. His daughters — Rebecca, Hannah, Ruth, Sarah, and Lydia — are to receive two-nineteenths of the whole estate apiece, in lands, unless their brothers redeem the same; and all the daughters are to be paid at eighteen years of age, or on the day of marriage. He leaves an inventory, and his children are to take the property at his apprisal.

He appoints his sons Matthew and Samuel to be executors, and requests his brother, Major William Johnson, to see that the Will is properly executed. The inventory exhibits property appraised at £497.04.05. Finding it difficult to divide the estate as provided in the Will, the heirs made a special agreement for a division, which they signed Aug. 10, 1696. Of the eight children, Henry and Matthew only signed their names; all the rest made their marks.

The Wills of Captain Edward Johnson's other two sons, George and John, are not in the Files or Records of the Middlesex Probate Office. George is supposed to have returned to England; and John died, probably without property, at Canterbury, Conn.

GENEALOGY

OF THE

DESCENDANTS OF CAPTAIN EDWARD JOHNSON.

PREPARED BY JOHN ALONZO BOUTELLE.

EXPLANATIONS. — The families in this Genealogy are arranged in the order of seniority, the head of the family, having a consecutive number, being in German text. Thus, IV. 53. William Johnson, shows that William Johnson is of the fourth generation, and that 53 is his consecutive number, and that, by turning back to the number 53, his name will be found in his father's family.

This mark †, following a consecutive number, and immediately before a person's name, denotes that the person will be subsequently noticed as a head of a family, his name being printed in German text, in the middle of the line, preceded by the consecutive number.

When a woman's name occurs thus: Esther (Gardner) Johnson, — it will be understood that the name in parentheses was her original or maiden name, and the name following was acquired by marriage.

I. 1. Captain Edward Johnson,

Born in England, 1599; died at Woburn, April 23, 1672. He married SUSAN (or SUSANNA) ——, who was born in England in 1597, and died at Woburn, 1690.

CHILDREN.

2. †Edward, born in England, 1621 or 1622; he was admitted freeman May 2, 1638, and died at Charlestown, Sept. 15, 1692, "upwards of 70;" married, Feb. 10, 1649–50, Katharine Baker.

3. George, born in England. It is supposed that he returned to England. He had children, — 1. George; and, 2. Katharine, — who were named in their Grandfather's Will.
6. †William, born in England, 1629 or 1630; died at Woburn, May 22, 1704; married, May 16, 1665, Esther Wiswall.
7. Martha, born in England; married, March 18, 1649–50, John Eames.
8. †Matthew, born in England, 1634; died at Woburn, July 19, 1696; married, 1st, Nov. 12, 1658, Hannah Palfrey; married, 2d, Dec. 23, 1662, Rebecca Wiswall.
9. †John, born in England, 1635 or 1636; died at Canterbury, Conn.; married, April 28, 1657, Bethiah Reed.
10. Susan, born in England; married James Prentice, of Cambridge, and had children, — 1. James, born March 11, 1656; 2. Susan, June 29, 1657; 3. Hannah, April 24, 1659; 4. Elizabeth, 25th August, 1660; 5. Sarah, 1662; 6. Rose.

II. 2. Edward Johnson,

Son of Captain Edward and Susan Johnson. Born in England, 1621 or 1622; died at Charlestown, Sept. 15, 1692, "upwards of 70." He was by occupation a shipwright and carpenter. He resided at Woburn and Charlestown. He married at Woburn, Feb. 10, 1649–50, KATHARINE BAKER.

CHILDREN.

17. Edward, born at Woburn, Nov. 5, 1650; resided in Charlestown, and Southhold, County of Suffolk, N.Y. He was by occupation a shipwright. He had children by his wife Miriam, who was born at Charlestown, — 1. William; 2. Ebenezer; 3. Susan; 4. Abigail.
22. William, named in his father's Will.
23. John, baptized at Charlestown, 10 April, 1664; named in his father's Will as in doubt whether living or not, and of ever returning to New-England. In June 22, 1694, he was of Boston, shipwright by occupation; and his wife was named Margaret.
24. Katharine, who, with her uncle, Major William Johnson, administered on her father's estate. She married John Taylor, of Charlestown, and had children, — 1. Richard; 2. John; 3. Thomas; 4. Catharine; 5. Sarah.

II. 6. Major William Johnson,

Son of Captain Edward and Susan Johnson. Born in England, 1629 or 1630; died at Woburn, May 22, 1704. He resided in Woburn. In Abstracts of Middlesex Court Files, his age, June 17, 1668, was about 39; and April 24, 1700, he gave his age as seventy. He married at Woburn, May 16, 1655, ESTHER WISWALL, who was baptized in 1635, and died at Woburn, Dec. 27, 1707. She was a daughter of Thomas Wiswall, a ruling elder of the church at Newton.

CHILDREN.

30. †William, born Feb. 26, 1656; died Jan. 10, 1729; married Esther Gardner.
31. †Edward, born March 19, 1658; died Aug. 7, 1725; married, 1st, Jan. 12, 1686–7, Sarah Walker; married, 2d, Abigail ——.
32. †Ebenezer, born March 29, 1660; died at Woburn, March 17, 1737; married, April 13, 1691, Sarah Winn.
33. Esther, born April 13, 1662; married, Dec. 17, 1685, Seth Wyman.
34. Joseph, born June 14, 1664; named in his father's Will as being in a distracted frame of mind. He resided with his brother, Ebenezer Johnson.
35. †Benjamin, born Oct. 15, 1666; died April 22, 1733; married, Nov. 22, 1699, Sarah Walker.
36. †Josiah, born Jan. 15, 1669; died Dec. 16, 1739; married, 1st, Jan. 24, 1705–6, Martha Whitmore; married, 2d, Deborah (Giles?).
37. Susanna, born June 29, 1671.
38. Abigail, born Oct. 4, 1674; married, June 14, 1705, Samuel Pierce.

II. 8. Matthew Johnson,

Son of Captain Edward and Susan Johnson. Born in England about 1634; died at Woburn, July 19, 1696. He resided at Woburn. He married, 1st, Nov. 12, 1658, HANNAH PALFREY, who died at Woburn, Aug. 1, 1662. She was the daughter of Peter Palfrey, who died at Reading in 1663. He married, 2d, Oct. 23, 1662, REBECCA WISWALL, baptized Dec. 2, 1638; died at Woburn, Dec. 25, 1709. She was the daughter of Elder John Wiswall, of Boston. Administration to her estate was granted to her eldest son, Matthew Johnson, Dec. 29, 1709.

CHILDREN.

39. Rebecca, born March 1, 1665; married, 1692, Samuel Simonds.
40. †Matthew, born March 18, 1667; died Aug. 8, 1740; married, 1st, Dec. 12, 1695, Mary Reed; married, 2d, Nov. 30, 1704, Alice Ward; married, 3d, Hannah ——.
41. Hannah, born April 23, 1669; married Samuel Simonds.
42. †Samuel, born April 28, 1672; married Mary ——.
43. Lydia, married Samuel Blogget.
44. Ruth, born Jan. 1, 1674–5; married, Jan. 10, 1697–8, John Reed.
45. Sarah, born April 14, 1677; married, Jan. 17, 1699–1700, Daniel Reed.
46. Henry, born April 7, 1683; died at Woburn, probably in 1752. He left considerable property, but had no family. His Will, of July 9, 1751, was proved Sept. 30, 1754.

II. 9. John Johnson,

Son of Captain Edward and Susan Johnson. Born 1635 or 1636; died at Canterbury, Conn. He resided in Woburn and Canterbury, and was by occupation a housewright, or carpenter, and owned in Woburn a saw-mill. May 16, 1712, Obadiah Johnson, of Canterbury, Conn., proposed to the town of Woburn to take his aged father, John Johnson (then under the care of Dr. Kittridge, of Tewksbury, for lameness), and his own mother Bethia, and maintain them. (Woburn Town Records.) He married, April 28, 1657, BETHIA REED, who died at Canterbury, Conn., about the year 1718. She was the daughter of William and Mabel Reed, of Woburn. Her father returned to "Newcastle upon the Tyn," where he died. A copy of his Will was sent to New-England, and is on file at the Probate Office for Middlesex County.

CHILDREN.

47. John, born Feb. 24, 1658–9; married Mary ——. He was a carpenter, and lived at Cambridge Farms.
48. Bethia, born Feb. 20, 1659–60; married —— Woolcott. Sarah Knight and Abigail Knight, unmarried, are named as daughters of said Bethia Woolcott, April 23, 1695.
49. William, born Sept. 29, 1662; moved to Canterbury, Conn.
50. Obadiah, born June 15, 1664; moved to Canterbury, Conn., about the year 1690.
51. Samuel, born Oct. 29, 1670.
52. Nathaniel, born May 15, 1673.

III. 30. William Johnson,

Son of Major William and Esther (Wiswall) Johnson. Born at Woburn, Feb. 26, 1656–7; died at Woburn, Jan. 10, 1729–30. He resided in Woburn and in Charlestown, where he was a shipwright. He married ESTHER GARDNER, who was born at Woburn, Oct. 15, 1659, and died at Woburn, Dec. 17, 1706. She was the daughter of Richard Gardner, of Woburn.

CHILDREN.

53. †William, born March 28, 1686; married, 1st, Jan. 1, 1707–8, Sarah Dole, of Newbury; married, 2d, Hannah ——.
54. Esther, died Nov. 16, 1710.
55. Mary, died about 1710.
56. Hannah, or Anna, not married.
57. †Benjamin, married Rebecca ——.
58. †Noah, a cordwainer, and was called "Sergeant."
59. Ruth.

III. 31. Edward Johnson,

Son of Major William and Esther (Wiswall) Johnson. Born at Woburn, March 19, 1658; died at Woburn, Aug. 7, 1725, — 68. He was captain of the military band of Woburn, and for many years was a selectman of the town, deacon of the church, and was Deputy to the General Court in 1700. He resided in that part of Woburn which is now Burlington, and, it is supposed, in a house once used as a garrison-house, opposite of the house of Mr. Alfred B. Shaw. He died, it is said, of grief for the loss of his favorite son, Ichabod, who was killed by the Indians. (Rev. S. Sewall.) He married, 1st, Jan. 12, 1686–7, SARAH WALKER, who was born in Woburn, March 6, 1670–1, and died May 31, 1704. She was the daughter of Samuel Walker, of Woburn. He married, 2d, ABIGAIL ——, who outlived her husband. His Will, of Aug. 5, 1725, was proved Sept. 3, 1725.

CHILDREN BY FIRST WIFE.

60. Edward, born Oct. 12, 1687; died Jan. 3, 1687–8.
61. †Edward, born May 4, 1689; died Oct. 5, 1774; married, 1st, Rebecca Reed; married, 2d, Dec. 13, 1750, Esther Coolidge; married, 3d, Feb. 19, 1755, Sarah Wilson.

62. Sarah; married —— Simonds.
63. Esther, born Jan. 26, 1693-4; died April 13, 1786; married John Stearns, of Billerica, son of Lieut. John and Elizabeth (Bigelow) Stearns.
64. †Samuel, born Feb. 21, 1695-6; died about 1764; married, 1st, Feb. 19, 1724-5, Mary Butters; married, 2d, Jan. 1, 1742-3, Priscilla Emery; married, 3d, Dec. 25, 1751, Hannah Wyman.
65. Abigail, married Dec. 11, 1717, Timothy Richardson.
66. Susanna, born Jan. 14, 1700; married, May 23, 1722, Samuel Jones.
67. Ichabod, born April 22, 1703; was killed by the Indians at Lovewell's fight, May 8, 1725.

CHILDREN BY SECOND WIFE.

68. Elizabeth, born Nov. 6, 1705; married, Jan. 1, 1723, Joseph Winn, of West Nottingham, N.H.
69. †Joseph, born June 22, 1708; married, July 5, 1739, Sarah Thompson; died Oct. 3, 1793.

III. 32. Ebenezer Johnson,

Son of Major William and Esther (Wiswall) Johnson. Born at Woburn, March 29, 1660; died at Woburn, March 17, 1737. He married, April 13, 1691, SARAH WINN, who was born at Woburn, Nov. 9, 1666, and died Oct. 23, 1733. She was the daughter of Ensign Joseph and Rebecca (Reed) Winn.

CHILDREN.

70. Ebenezer, born April 11, 1692; died April 14, 1692.
71. Sarah, born Sept. 28, 1693.
72. Abigail, born June 13, 1697; married Oliver Farmer, of Billerica. They were great-grandparents of John Farmer, the noted New-England antiquary.
73. †Ebenezer, born Sept. 7, 1699; died about 1756; married, May 19, 1725, Sarah Stearns, of Billerica.
74. William, born Sept. 7, 1699; died Feb. 11, 1708-9.
75. †Joseph, born Feb. 9, 1701-2; died June 29, 1798; married, May 8, 1734, Elizabeth Baldwin.
76. †Timothy, born July 15, 1705; married, Nov. 11, 1734, Mary Wyman.

III. 35. Benjamin Johnson,

Son of Major William and Esther (Wiswall) Johnson. Born at Woburn, Oct. 15, 1666; died at Woburn, April 22, 1733. He resided in what is now Burlington; and, June 3, 1732, gave a lot of land at a place called Forest Hill, near his residence, for a meeting-house. He married, Nov. 22, 1699, SARAH WALKER, who died in January, 1748.

CHILDREN.

77. †Benjamin, born Oct. 8, 1700; died May 4, 1781; married, April 10, 1728, Mary Walker.
78. Josiah, born July 28, 1702; was wounded in the Lovewell fight.
79. †Seth, born April 23, 1707; died at Pelham; married Mary ——.
80. Sarah, born March 19, 1708–9.
81. Hannah, born Sept. 7, 1710.
82. Esther, born Feb. 2, 1715; married, Oct. 21, 1736, John Wood.

III. 36. Josiah Johnson,

Son of Major William and Esther (Wiswall) Johnson. Born Jan. 15, 1669–70; died Dec. 16, 1739. He married, 1st, Jan. 1, 1705–6, MARTHA WHITMORE, who died Aug. 25, 1715. He married, 2d, DEBORAH GILES, who died Jan. 5, 1723–4.

CHILDREN BY FIRST WIFE.

83. Martha, born Nov. 3, 1706.
84. Abigail, born April 4, 1708.
85. †Josiah, born Feb. 24, 1710; died Dec. 24, 1784. He married, 1st, Hannah Wood; married, 2d, Aug. 5, 1771, Susanna (Kendall) Brooks.
86. †Francis, born Feb. 13, 1712; married Sarah Wyman.
87. Hannah, born Aug. 19, 1716.

CHILD BY SECOND WIFE.

88. Giles, born April 12, 1718; married Abigail Reed.

III. 40. Matthew Johnson,

Son of Matthew and Rebecca (Wiswall) Johnson. Born March 18, 1667; died Aug. 8, 1740. He married, 1st, Dec. 12, 1695, MARY REED, who died Oct. 14, 1703. He married, 2d, Nov. 30, 1704, ALICE WARD, who died July 31, 1707. He married, 3d, HANNAH ——, who outlived her husband, and administered on his estate.

CHILDREN.

89. Mary, born Sept. 12, 1696; married, Nov., 1717, Ebenezer Knight.
90. Hannah, born Nov. 28, 1699; married —— Cooper.
91. Matthew, born Sept. 3, 1702; died Jan. 12, 1729-30; married Anna ——.
92. Sarah, born Sept. 15, 1703; married, May 14, 1722, John Bloggett.

III. 42. Samuel Johnson,

Son of Matthew and Rebecca (Wiswall) Johnson. Born April 28, 1672; died probably at Lancaster. He was a farmer, and resided at Woburn and at Lancaster. He married MARY ——.

CHILDREN.

93. Samuel, born July 7, 1705.
94. Mary, born Jan. 8, 1706-7.
95. Daniel, born Aug. 20, 1708.
96. Joshua, born April 17, 1712.
97. Elizabeth, born Dec. 20, 1717.

IV. 53. William Johnson,

Son of William and Esther (Gardner) Johnson. Born March 28, 1686; died at Mansfield, Conn., Feb. 29, 1752. He resided at Woburn, and at Mansfield, Conn. He married, 1st, Jan. 1, 1707, SARAH DOLE, who was born at Newbury, Feb. 14, 1681, and died at Woburn, Oct. 14, 1710. She was daughter of Richard and Sarah (Greenleaf) Dole. He married, 2d, HANNAH ——.

CHILDREN BY FIRST WIFE.

98. Sarah, born May 3, 1709; married John Noyes, of Newbury.
99. Dole, born Sept. 30, 1710.

CHILDREN BY SECOND WIFE.

100. William, born March 27, 1718; married, Jan. 26, 1748, Abigail, daughter of Edmund Freeman, of Mansfield, Conn.
101. Hannah, born March 31, 1719.
102. Joseph, born April 28, 1720; died May 31, 1787, at Mansfield, Conn.; married Abigail, daughter of Samuel Slafter, of Mansfield, Conn., and had children, — Abigail, Joseph, Ruth, Hannah, William, and Josiah.
103. Enoch, born Sept. 16, 1721.
104. Rebecca, born April 8, 1723.
105. Hezekiah, born May 12, 1724; died 1806, at Norwich, Vt.; married Dorothy, daughter of Samuel Slafter, of Mansfield, Conn.; and had children, — Esther, Experience, Samuel Slafter, Hezekiah, and Dorothy.
106. Azariah, born Nov. 18, 1726.
107. Esther, born Dec. 30, 1727.
108. Experience, born July 19, 1729.
109. Mary, born Dec. 21, 1730.
110. Ruth, born May 5, 1732.

IV. 57. Benjamin Johnson,

Son of William and Esther (Gardner) Johnson. Born probably at Charlestown, and resided at Woburn. He married REBECCA ——.

CHILDREN.

111. Rebecca, born May 4, 1719.
112. Esther, born May 8, 1721.

IV. 58. Noah Johnson,

Son of William and Esther (Gardner) Johnson. Born probably at Charlestown, Feb. 2, 1699. Resided at Dunstable at the time of Lovewell's fight, and

was the last survivor of those engaged in that action. He removed to Pembroke, N.H. (then called Suncook), and subsequently to Plymouth, N.H., where he died Aug. 13, 1798, aged 99 years, 6 months, and 11 days. (Rev. S. Sewall.)

CHILDREN.

113. Elizabeth, born Oct. 3, 1728.
114. Noah, born May 27, 1730.
115. Edward, who was killed in the old French War.

IV. 61. Edward Johnson,

Son of Edward and Sarah (Walker) Johnson. Born at Woburn, May 4, 1689; died Oct. 5, 1774. He took an active part in gathering the church in the Second Parish of Woburn, now Burlington; was chosen a deacon of that church in 1741. Deacon Johnson lived upon the farm in Burlington, on the road to Lexington, which continued in possession of the family for one hundred and twenty-five years. It is now in the possession of E. W. Willard. He married, 1st, REBECCA REED, who was the mother of his thirteen children. He married, 2d, Dec. 13, 1750, ESTHER (MASON) COOLIDGE, who was born July 8, 1686. She was the widow of Captain Joseph Coolidge, of Watertown, and daughter of Joseph and Mary (Fiske) Mason. He married, 3d, Feb. 19, 1775, SARAH WILSON, who was born Dec. 13, 1693? and died March 12, 1775. She was the widow of Samuel Wilson, and daughter of James and Susanna Simonds.

CHILDREN.

116. Rebecca, born April 22, 1712; married Ebenezer Wyman.
117. Mary, born Oct. 26, 1713; married Enoch Richardson.
118. Edward, born Sept. 28, 1715; moved to Leominster, and was drowned in a well.
119. Joshua, born Feb. 16, 1716–17; removed to Bolton (now Berlin).
120. Eleazer, born Feb. 27, 1718–19; removed to Bolton.
121. Jonathan, born June 13, 1720; died Nov. 30, 1793; married Sarah, daughter of Samuel and Sarah Wilson; resided at Leominster, and at Woburn Precinct, where he died. He had children,—
122. 1. Jonathan, born Feb. 1, 1751–52; married Lydia Jaquith.
123. 2. Jotham, born Nov. 28, 1753; married Eunice, daughter of Deacon Samuel and Eunice Reed.

124. 3. Sarah, born May 24, 1759.
125. 4. Lucy, born Nov. 4, 1761; married General John Walker, of Burlington. They were parents of Rev. James Walker, D.D., President of Harvard College.
126. 5. Ichabod, born Sept. 16, 1764; married Sally Reed; died Aug. 5, 1807.
127. Nathan, born Nov. 11, 1721; resided in Leominster.
128. Abigail, born July 15, 1723; married, 1st, June 5, 1744, Samuel Wilson; married, 2d, Nov. 10, 1751, Simeon Spaulding, of Chelmsford.
129. Ichabod, born Dec. 23, 1724; lived on the Moseley place.
130. Lucy, born Jan. 3, 1725–6; not married.
131. Jonas, born Jan. 17, 1727–8.
132. Asa, born Feb. 16, 1728–9; resided in Leominster.
133. Susanna, born Oct. 23, 1730; married, May 2, 1755, Joshua Kendall.

IV. 64. Samuel Johnson,

Son of Edward and Sarah (Walker) Johnson. Born Feb. 23, 1695–6; died in 1764. He resided in Woburn. He married, 1st, Feb. 19, 1724–5, MARY BUTTERS, who died Aug. 7, 1730. He married, 2d, Jan. 1, 1742–3, PRISCILLA EMERY. He married, 3d, Dec. 25, 1751, HANNAH WYMAN.

CHILDREN.

134. Samuel, born May 18, 1725.
135. Reuben, born May 12, 1727; married Sarah, daughter of Ebenezer Johnson.
136. Mary, married, Nov. 4, 1756, James Boutelle.
137. Abigail.
138. Edward, born Oct. 23, 1743.

IV. 69. Joseph Johnson,

Son of Edward and Abigail Johnson. Born at Woburn, June 22, 1708. He married, July 5, 1739, SARAH THOMPSON, who died Sept. 11, 1778.

CHILDREN.

139. Abigail, born Dec. 30, 1741; died unmarried, aged about ninety.
140. Abiathar, born Nov. 2, 1743; married, July 9, 1767, Sarah Skilton.
141. Sarah, born Oct. 25, 1745.
142. Susannah, born Aug. 5, 1748.

IV. 73. Ebenezer Johnson,

Twin son of Ebenezer and Sarah (Winn) Johnson. Born at Woburn, Sept. 7, 1699; died in 1756. His Will, of May 31, 1756, proved Nov. 22, 1756, is on file. In it he speaks of "being about to go into his Majesty's service in the Expedition formed against Crown Point." He married, May 19, 1725, SARAH STEARNS, who was born at Billerica, March 26, 1703, and died May 24, 1779. She was the daughter of Isaac and Mary (Merriam) Stearns, of Billerica.

CHILDREN.

143. Ebenezer, born Sept. 3, 1726.
144. Sarah, born Sept. 20, 1728.
145. James, born May 8, 1731.
146. William, born Feb. 25, 1732–3.
147. Obadiah, who died Oct. 21, 1736.
148. Ruth, born Dec. 3, 1738.
149. Rebecca, born March 31, 1742.
150. Joanna, named in her father's Will.

IV. 75. Joseph Johnson,

Son of Ebenezer and Sarah (Winn) Johnson. Born at Woburn, Feb. 9, 1701–2; died June 29, 1798. He married, May 8, 1734, ELIZABETH BALDWIN, who died Dec. 31, 1780, aged 78 years, 7 months.

CHILDREN.

151. Sarah, born March 17, 1734–5.
152. Joseph, born Nov. 7, 1738; died Oct. 14, 1797.
153. Elizabeth, born May 22, 1741; married, May 10, 1768, Thomas Skilton, Jr.
154. Sybil, born Dec. 15, 1747; married, Jan. 27, 1768, Jonathan Carter.

IV. 76. Timothy Johnson,

Brother of the preceding. Born at Woburn, July 15, 1705; married, Nov. 1, 1734, MARY WYMAN.

CHILDREN.

155. Mary, born July 30, 1735.
156. Timothy, not married.
157. Isabel, married, April 24, 1770, Thomas Deane, Jr.
158. Rebecca, married, July 18, 1772, Jonas Deane.
159. Jemima, not married.
160. Abigail, not married.

IV. 77. Benjamin Johnson,

Son of Benjamin and Sarah (Walker) Johnson. Born at Woburn, Oct. 8, 1700; died May 4, 1781. He resided on Forest Hill, Woburn (now Burlington), and on the place, I suppose, where Rev. S. Sewall now resides. He married, April 10, 1728, MARY WALKER, who died June 5, 1762 or '63.

CHILDREN.

161. Joel, born Jan. 31, 1728–9; died Sept. 4, 1738.
162. Mary, born Nov. 6, 1730.
163. Azel, born July 9, 1732; married, Oct. 13, 1757, Rebecca Wilson.
164. Judith, born Feb. 26, 1733–4.
165. Benjamin, born April 12, 1736; died at college, June 21, 1756.
166. Shubael, born March 12, 1738; married, Dec. 9, 1760, Mary Cutler.
167. Keziah, born April 9, 1741.
168. Ruth, born June 1, 1743.
169. Abijah, born June 13, 1745; married, May 7, 1765, Mary Reed.
170. Enoch, born May 12, 1748.

IV. 79. Seth Johnson,

Brother of the preceding. Born at Woburn, April 23, 1707; died at Pelham, N.H. He probably moved to Pelham, N.H., after the birth of his children, who were all born at Woburn. He married MARY ——.

CHILDREN.

171. { Mary, born Feb. 24, 1733–4.
172. { Martha, born Feb. 24, 1733–4; married, Sept. 20, 1752, Solomon Wood.
173. Seth, born Nov. 23, 1736.
174. Silas, born Jan. 24, 1739–40; died July 6, 1743.
175. Amos, born Feb. 16, 1742–3.
176. Silas, born July 18, 1745.
177. Abel, born May 28, 1748.
178. Jonas, born June 16, 1750.

IV. 85. Josiah Johnson,

Son of Josiah and Martha (Whitmore) Johnson. Born at Woburn, Feb. 24, 1709–10; died at Woburn, Dec. 24, 1784. About the year 1743, he moved to the house where his grandson, Levi Johnson, now lives. The last part of his life he dwelt on what is now called the "Oliver Bacon place," about one-half mile south-west from Woburn Common. He married, 1st, HANNAH WOOD, who died March 14, 1771–2. He married, 2d, SUSANNA (KENDALL) BROOKS, who was born July 5, 1724, and died Dec. 19, 1808.

CHILDREN BY FIRST WIFE.

179. Josiah, born Feb. 26, 1736–7; died June, 1807. He married, Dec. 22, 1760, Sarah Gardner.
180. Hannah, born May 14, 1740; died Dec. 13, 1798. She married —— Sawyer, and moved to Atkinson, N.H.
181. David, born Jan. 7, 1741–2; married, Jan. 10, 1765, Mary Richardson.
182. Martha, born Dec. 30, 1743; not married.
183. Daniel, born September, 1746; lived on the "Oliver Bacon place." He married, Dec. 20, 1770, Joanna Pollard.
184. Isaac, born October, 1749.

IV. 86. Francis Johnson,

Brother of the preceding. Born at Woburn, Feb. 13, 1712–13. He resided in Woburn, on "Johnson Lane," a short distance from the main road leading from Widow Luke Reed's to Arlington. He married, Jan. 23, 1740–1, SARAH WYMAN.

CHILDREN.

185. Sarah, born Dec. 4, 1743; married, April 27, 1769, Samuel Tay.
186. Francis, born April 2, 1746; married, June 27, 1771, Abigail Brooks.
187. John, born Aug. 14, 1748; died in childhood.
188. Seth, born Dec. 8, 1750; married, Feb. 10, 1780, Abigail Symmes.
189. Esther, born May 3, 1753; resided in Concord, N.H. She married Jonathan Eastman.
190. John, born Feb. 4, 1757; married, Dec. 9, 1783, Achsah Simonds.
191. Frederic, born March 29, 1759; married Rhoda Reed.
192. Josiah, born April 25, 1761; died July 14, 1786.
193. Noah, born June 3, 1763; died Sept. 14, 1784.
194. Susanna; died April 21, 1786, aged 21.

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